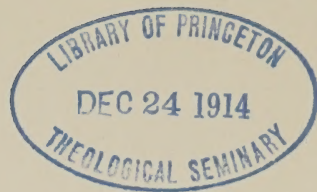


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BY
ARNO POEBEL

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FOREWORD

In the spring of 1912, Dr. Poebel was granted permission to study the historical and grammatical texts in the Babylonian collections in the University Museum, and was employed by the Museum during the summer of 1913 and during the winter of 1913-14 for the purpose of continuing these studies. During these two periods, Dr. Poebel was chiefly engaged in copying historical and grammatical texts selected from a large number of tablets of all classes. It was Dr. Poebel's plan to publish simultaneously with his copies, complete translations of all of these texts. It was also a part of his plan to reconstruct, on the basis of the historical tablets, portions of the early history of Babylonia. Another task to which he set himself at the same time was the preparation of a treatise on Sumerian grammar based upon the grammatical tablets in the Museum's collection.

Neither of these tasks had been completed at the time when Dr. Poebel's duties called him back to Germany in March, 1914. It was decided, however, to publish that portion of the work which had been completed and to bring out the remainder at a later date. This volume contains that portion of the projected grammatical studies which was completed in March.

Dr. Poebel had just corrected and returned the galley proofs at the time when communication with Germany was

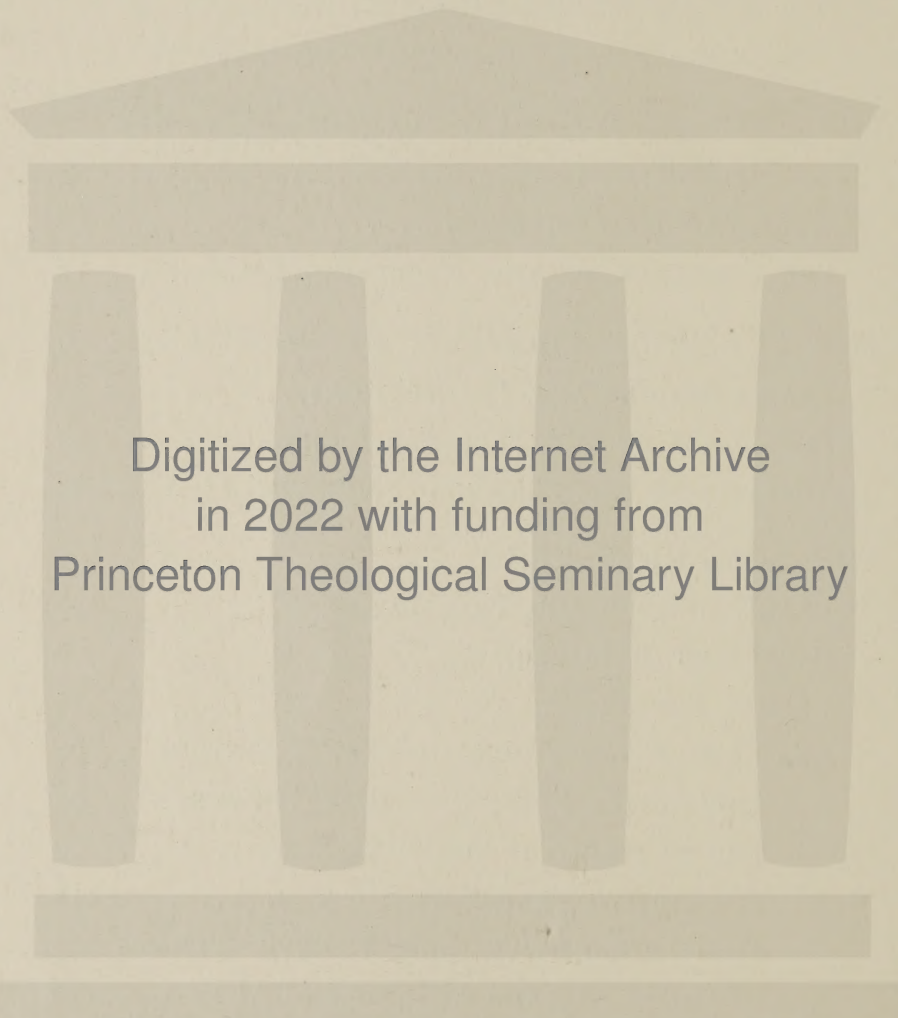
interrupted by the war. In justice to Dr. Poebel, it should be stated that he had no opportunity of reading the final proofs as he expected to do.

Dr. Poebel's autograph copies of all the grammatical texts included in this volume and many more of which translations and commentaries have not been finished, will be found in Volume V of this series.

G. B. GORDON.

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I

THE NOUN-GOVERNED COMPLEXES
IN SUMERIAN

THE NOUN-GOVERNED COMPLEXES IN SUMERIAN

INTRODUCTION

Sumerian is an agglutinative language; its most characteristic feature, therefore, is that it strings together, by simple juxtaposition, a number of words intended by the speaker to convey a certain idea. Each such chain of words is governed by a chief idea to which all the other words joined to it stand in the relation of modifiers. There are, on the whole, only two classes of words which can govern such a chain, namely, substantives and words conveying a verbal idea. E-maḥ-mu-šu, *e. g.*, is a complex governed by a substantive. The first word, the substantive *e* "house," represents the chief idea; this is modified: first, by the adjective *maḥ* "sublime," then, by the pronoun *mu* "my," and lastly, by the postposition *šu* "towards," the whole conveying the well-defined idea "to my sublime house." An example of a verbal complex, on the other hand, is *mu-na-n-si*; it begins with the element *mu* which expresses the idea of verbal agency in the historical or narrative tense: somebody did something at that time; then follows the dative *na* "to him," then the element *n* which is characteristic of the third person as subject of the verbal idea, "he," and lastly, the governing verbal idea *si(m)* "to give," the whole meaning "he gave to him."

The following remarks deal only with the rules covering the formation of the first class of complexes, namely those which are governed by a substantive. We may conveniently divide these rules into two groups: first, those which relate to morphological changes caused by the joining of the various elements, and secondly, those which deal with the sequence of the modifying elements.

MORPHOLOGICAL CHANGES

Morphological changes within a complex composed of substantive and modifying elements occur only in the connection of nouns with elements denoting a grammatical function, like the subject *e*, the genitive element *ak* and the plural elements; or in the connection of nouns and such elements as denote dimensional relations, *e. g.*, the pronouns and the so-called postpositions. In cases where a substantive or an adjective is joined to the governing noun, no change whatever takes place. The logical reason for this restriction is obvious; morphological changes occur primarily in cases where frequent use has favored quick development; the grammatical and dimensional elements as the means of connected thought and speech, however, are naturally used far more frequently than, *e. g.*, a descriptive adjective which under ordinary circumstances is used by the speaker only in case the conversation happens to be on a subject which has some reference to the idea expressed by the adjective in question. Of course, as in any other language, so in Sumerian, time has wrought considerable change in the form of substantives and adjectives, but such changes simply concern the words themselves and are not dependent on their connection with the governing noun; cf., *e. g.*, *dū* and *dumu* 'son,'¹ *ḥú*, *ú*, *ḥá* and *ā* "ten,"² and dialectical differences such as *ze-ib* = *dû(g)* "good," etc.

Morphological changes in a complex of noun and modifying elements are found at the end of the modified word as well as at the beginning of the modifying element, which in Sumerian, as will be more fully pointed out further on, always follows the modified element.

1. The first kind of the changes just referred to, namely, at the end of the modified governing element, is found:

(a) With those nouns or complexes of words which end with an amissible consonant, *i. e.*, a consonant which under

¹ Sign DUMU.

² Sign Ū.

certain circumstances may be dropped and in other cases be retained. The rule is that such amissible consonants are dropped when standing at the end of a word or complex of words or before grammatical elements beginning with a consonant, while they are preserved before grammatical elements beginning with a vowel. The root of the Sumerian word for "dream," *e. g.*, is *mamud*, but if this word is used alone or forms a grammatical complex by itself, it becomes *mamu*, *i. e.*, it drops the *d*, because this consonant stands at the end of the word; "my dream" is *mamu-mu*, likewise with dropping of the *d*, because the following grammatical element *mu* begins with a consonant; "his dream," however, is *mamud-ani*, because the element *ani* begins with a vowel. Cf. *ma-mú* "a dream," HGT 1 Col. 3₁₅; ^d*ma-mu* "the dream god," Aššur-našir-apli, VR 69 Obv.₂₃; *ma-mu-mu* "my dream," Gudea, Cyl. A 1₂₉, *ma-mu-zu* "thy dream," *ibid.* 5₁₂; *ša-ma-mu-da-ka* (= *ša(g)-mamud-ak-a*) "in the midst of the dream," *ibid.* 4₁₄; *û-da [m]a-mu-da* (>*uda-mamud-a(k)?*) "during(?) the dream," *ibid.* 4₁₃.

The consonants which are liable to be dropped at the end of a word are *d*, *t*, *g*, *k*, *m(w)*, *n*, *r*. Unfortunately we are not yet able to say whether every *t* and *k* sound must be regarded as an amissible consonant. In the peculiar Sumerian system of writing, the nouns and verbal roots are for the most part expressed by special signs, the pronunciation of which can in many cases be ascertained only from those native Sumerian-Akkadian vocabularies which denote the pronunciation of the signs in question in phonetic writing. These vocabularies, it is true, frequently give to the signs values which end with one of the amissible consonants, *e. g.*, *sig*, *tug*, *šag*, *bar*, etc., but in a number of cases we can prove that the Babylonian lexicographer, when rendering an "ideograph" in phonetic writing, did not always give the actual pronunciation of the sign which it had in the system of writing, but for grammatical reasons often preferred to reproduce the stem of the word, that is to say, the word plus the amissible consonant which

in actual pronunciation would have been dropped. Cf. *tü* and *tü(g)* "garment;" *dû* and *dû(g)* "good," etc. In cases like this, where we have a phonetic rendering in the larger and in the shorter form, it is easy to see that the *k* or *t* sound must be regarded as an amissible consonant. Nor is there any difficulty in cases where the vocabularies give only the shorter form, while the inscriptions show that the stem had an additional consonant at the end as, *e. g.*, in *kù(g)* "precious metal," *kí(d)* "to make," etc., but in the frequent cases where we have only the form with the consonant, the question must be left for the present undecided. It is quite possible that there existed a *q* and *ṭ* sound in Sumerian that may not have been liable to dropping. Moreover, it seems that the various Sumerian dialects differed somewhat in their treatment of the final consonants, as may be seen from the fact that the stem *sim* or *siw* "to give," which in the common Sumerian idiom, according to the vocabularies, if not followed by a vocalic element, becomes *si*, in the corresponding Eme-sal forms is written *ze-em*. Owing to sound changes a word with an amissible consonant even appears in many cases with an inamissible consonant in Eme-sal, as, *e. g.*, *dû(g)* "good" as *ze-ib*. The questions involved in these problems, however, must be left for a future comparative investigation of the dialects, which, no doubt, will some time enable us to say something more definite on the character of the Sumerian consonants. It is very interesting to note that also in Greek the *k* and *t* sounds are amissible consonants; cf., *e. g.*, *ονομα* < *ονοματ* or *onomānt*, for final *t*, and *γαλα* "milk" from *γαλακτ*, for final *k* and *t*.

As to final *r* and *n* it seems that we actually have to distinguish between amissible and inamissible *r* and *n*. The former we find, *e. g.*, in *nig-ga* < *nig-ga(r)* "property," *nigi* < *nigi(n)* "to surround," *dur*, *duru* < *duru(n)* "to dwell"; inamissible *r* and *n*, *e. g.*, in *dingir* or *dimer* "god," *gen*, *gin* (written *gi-en*, *gi-in*) "to establish," etc. For amissible *w* (= *m*), cf. *sa* and *sa(m)* "purchase price," and *šuku(m)*? "food."

The rules for the dropping of amissible consonants have

also to be applied to the genitive element *ak* "of" and the particle *bi* "and," the *k* and *d* of which are amissible. Cf., *e. g.*, *é-lugal-la* (<*e-lugal-ak*) "the house of the king;" *é-lugal-la-ta* (<*e-lugal-ak-ta*) "from the house of the king;" but *é-lugal-la-ka* (= *e-lugal-ak-a*) "in the house of the king;"¹ *an-ki-bi* (<*an-ki-bid*) "heaven and earth;" *an-ki-bi-ta* (<*an-ki-bid-ta*) "in (from) heaven and earth;" *an-ki-bi-da* (<*an-ki-bid-ak*) "of heaven and earth."²

(*b*) Nouns with an inamissible consonant at the end frequently double this consonant before a grammatical element beginning with a vowel. We find, *e. g.*, *dingir-ra-ni* "his god" beside *dingir-a-ni*; *numun-na-ni* "his seed" beside *numun-a-ni*. On the other hand, there are certain nouns which seem to favor exclusively either the doubling or the simple writing and pronunciation of their last consonant; cf., *e. g.*, the constant writing *nin-a-ni*, "his lady," never *nin-na-ni*, while "his great house" is always *é-gal-la-ni*, and not *e-gal-a-ni*. Nevertheless we may here compare at least *lugal-la* "of the king," literally "of the great man," beside *lugal-a-ni* "his king," which latter is more frequently found than *lugal-la-ni*. It seems certain that in many of those nouns which show double consonants before a vocalic suffix, the double consonant is already characteristic of the root, as, *e. g.*, in *gall* "great;" *ginn* "to go;" *barr* "to fix," etc.; it must here, of course, be taken into account, that at the end of a word or before another different consonant only one consonant can be written. Moreover, in many of the cases where the final consonant is not doubled before vocalic suffixes, we may perhaps have to assume a stem with consonant and ', *nin-a-ni* thus being perhaps in reality *nin'-ani*. Here again a thorough investigation must be left to the future, when more material of the older period shall have been published and the extant forms been sifted according to the principles just indicated. This much, however, seems already established,

¹ For details see my paper "Die Genetivkonstruktion im Sumerischen," *Babyloniaca* IV, pp. 193-215 under rule 1.

² See my remarks in *OLZ* 1913, Col. 397.

that there was a certain oscillation in the treatment of simple and double consonants after short vowels which has its exact counterpart in Akkadian, if one compares writings like *mu-ba-lí-it* (<*mubállit*) with *i-ka-aš-ša-du* (<*ikášadû*).

(*c*) Concerning the dropping of the vowels *u* and *i* at the end of the pronouns *mu* "my," *zu* "thy," *ani* "his" and *bi* "its," "this" before grammatical elements beginning with *a*, see 2 (*b*) and (*c*).

2. Changes at the beginning of the modifying element take place in cases where a modifying element beginning with a vowel follows a noun or a complex which ends with a vowel. The rules for these cases are the following:

(*a*) The subject *e* as well as the *e* at the beginning of the plural element *ene* are contracted with, or rather absorbed by, the closing vowel of the preceding noun or complex; *Sangu + e* "the priest," *e. g.*, results in *sangu*; ^d*nanna + e* "Nanna" in ^d*nanna*; *sangu + ene* in *sangune* "the priests,"¹ *ibila + ene* in *ibilane* "the heirs."² The demonstrative *e* "this," however, with which the subject *e* is originally identical, is not subjected to the contraction or absorption; cf., *e. g.*, *lù-e* "this man;" *im-sar-ra-e* "this inscription," 34 Col. 340; Col. 28₂₂. The reason is evidently that the demonstrative bears a stronger accent, as perhaps may be illustrated by the German "der," which is used both as demonstrative pronoun and definite article; for in "dér Mann" (= "this man") *der* is strongly stressed, while in "der Mann" (= "the man") the accent rests on the substantive *Mann*, leaving the article entirely unstressed. Nevertheless the plural form of *lu-e* "this man" is either *lu-ene* or *lu-ù-ne* "these men," evidently because here the position

¹ Cf. *sangu-sangu-ne* "all priests," Urukagina, cones A and B 421, 51. There petition of the word expresses the idea of totality, not as Delitzsch (*Sumerische Grammatik* §62a) assumes, the simple plural. Cf. my "Genetivkonstruktion" *Babyloniaca*, pp. 205, 206.

² Cf. ³⁰*mu dū-ì-bí-la-ne-ka ba-an-gi-na-šù*, "on account of the fact that they confirmed the statements of the heirs," ITT III 5279, while in ²⁸*ù ì-bí-la-du-du-ge-ne* ²⁹*dū-ga-ne-ne-a ba-ni-gi-ni-eš*, "and the statement(s) of the heirs of Dudu (literally, the heirs of Dudu, their statement(s) they confirmed," *ibid.*, the ending *ene* is preserved, because it is separated from *ibila* by the genitive *dudu-k*; ⁹⁶*-à-ra-ne-ta* "from the house of the millers," Pinches, *The Amherst Tablets*, No. 87.

of the demonstrative element in the penultima no longer offers an obstacle to the contraction. There is no doubt that these contractions caused a circumflex stressing: *ibilāne* (*i. e.*, *ibilâ^ane*), *sangūne*, etc. In *lu-ù-ne* "these men" the stress probably lies on the second part of the vowel *ū*: *l^uûne*, on account of the stressing of the demonstrative element *e*; an indication of this may be seen in the writing with an extra vowel: *lu-ù-ne* instead of *lu-ne*.

(b) The locative element *-a* is contracted with the closing *a* of a preceding substantive or complex; no contraction takes place if it follows final *u* or *i*. Cf., *e. g.*, *kádingirra^{ki}* (written *din-tir^{ki}*) "in Babylon," 157₃; but *a-ga-dé^{ki}-a* "in Agade," *ibid.* 9; *gir-su^{ki}-a* "in Girsu" (Scheil's list of kings); *upí^{ki}-a* "in Upi," *ibid.* and 157₁.

A different rule, however, applies to the cases in which the locative element *a* follows the possessive adjectives *mu* "my," *zu* "thy," (*a*)*ni* "his," *bi* "its," "their" or the demonstrative *bi* "this," "the;" for in these cases the vowel at the end of the pronoun is dropped before the locative *a*. *E. g.*, *e-mu-a* "my house" results in *é-mà*, *uru-ni-a* "in his city" results in *uru-na*;¹ only (*a*)*ni* and *bi* sometimes preserve their final *i*, forming *-ni-a* and *-bi-a*.² Concerning the explanation of the dropping of the final *u* and *i* in the above-mentioned cases, see under (c).

(c) The genitive element *-ak* "of" and the possessive suffixes *-ani* "his" and *-anene* "their" give up their initial *a* after a word or a complex of words ending in a vowel; therefore, *dumu-ni* "his son," not *dumu-ani*; *šà-uru-ka* (= *šà-uru-k-a*) "in the midst of the city." As the *k* of the genitive suffix is liable to be dropped at the end of the complex or before elements beginning with a consonant, the genitive element will therefore in many cases completely disappear; cf. *dumu-*

¹ See Genetivkonstruktion under 4.

² Cf. the frequent *ù-bi-a* "at that time," *e. g.*, Gudea, Cyl. A 12₁₀; Uru-kagina, Cones B and C 3₄; HGT 1 Col. 3₁₅; 8 Col. 1₅ 4₁₁; CT 16, 19₂; 16, 20_{70, 85}, beside *ù-ba* "at that time," *e. g.*, Eannadu, foundation-stone A 5₉; B 6₃; Lugal-zaggisi, vase inscription 2₃; LIH 98, 99₁₆; HGT 1 Col. 3₂₀, 6₁₀, etc.

sangu (< dumu-sangu-k < dumu-sangu-ak) "the son of the priest."¹

An exception to this rule seems to be found in cases where the genitive element is added after the possessive suffixes *mu*, *zu*, *ani*, *bi*; for in these cases it is the *a* of the genitive that is preserved, while the closing vowels of the preceding pronouns are given up. Cf. *dam-dumu-na* (< *dam-dumu-n(i)-a(k)*) "the wife of his son;" *dam-dumu-mà* (< *dam-dumu-m(u)-a(k)*) "the wife of my son."² But in reality these cases do not constitute an exception, since the vowels *u* and *i* of the pronominal elements are evidently of secondary origin and serve only the purpose of supporting the consonants *m*, *z*, *n* and *b* which represent the real pronominal elements.

As regards the elements *-ageš* and *-akanam* "on account of" and other postpositional elements beginning with *a*, we do not yet know, owing to the scarcity of thoroughly sifted grammatical material, whether the rules set forth under (b) for the locative *a*, or those under (c) for the genitive element, apply to them. This much, however, is certain, that the pronouns *mu*, *zu*, *ni* and *bi* drop their final vowel before *-ages*, thus forming *-mà-ge-eš* "on account of my," *-za-ge-eš* "on account of thy," etc., cf. *áš-bal-ba-ge-eš* < *ašbal(a)-bi-ageš* "on account of these curses," *Rim-Sin-Šala-baštašu*, l. 48; *áš-bal-a-ba-ge-eš*, *dito*, 4 R 12, Rev.²⁷. In view of the fact, however, that the list of grammatical forms JRAS XVII, p. 65³ mentions the particles *-ageš* and *-akanam* in Col. I^{29, 30} under the form *ge-eš* and *ka-nam* instead of . . . *a-ge-eš* and *a-ka-nam*, which perhaps indicates that the *a* was liable to elision, it is likely that their treatment was analogous to that of the genitive element *ak*, quite apart from the fact that the first syllable of the elements *-ageš* and *-akanam* probably is the genitive element *ak*.

These, in fact, are all the morphological phenomena that can be observed, at present at least, in connections of a noun

¹ See Genetivkonstruktion under 2.

² See Genetivkonstruktion under 4.

³ See Chapter III.

or a complex of nouns with grammatical elements. It will be seen that on the whole they are comparatively very few; but this fact is quite in accordance with the agglutinative character of the Sumerian language, which, as we shall more fully see in the second part of this chapter, allows even the purely grammatical elements a remarkable independence, a fact which must naturally operate against an extensive morphological development.

THE SEQUENCE OF THE MODIFYING ELEMENTS

From the example which has been given at the beginning of this chapter of a noun-governed complex, namely, e-maḥ-mu-šu, "to my sublime house," literally "house—sublime—my—of," it will be seen that the substantive which governs the complex stands at the head of the combination. The modifying elements, therefore, all appear in postposition to it. The fact that the governing substantive is given so prominent a place needs no special explanation; as has already been pointed out, it represents the chief idea of the complex and it is therefore no more than logical to place it at the head of the complex. The same phenomenon may be observed in English, at least so far as genitive connections with *of*, and modifications by prepositional and adverbial expressions are concerned; cf. "the palace—of the king—of Ur;" "a fight—against the enemies—of the king." The usual position of the governing substantive in English, however, is at the end of the chain of modifiers, as may be seen from expressions like "in—his—former—position," or "against—his fathers—will." By placing the main idea at the end, it is again given a prominent place, the difference between the two languages being only this, that English, starting from the farther end, gradually ascends to the chief idea, while Sumerian thought at once grasps the chief idea and gradually descends to the secondary ideas. The similarity in these, at first sight so widely different constructions, is the more impressive in that the ascent to, or descent from, the main idea in both languages, as the following investigations will show,

avails itself of exactly the same steps, the logical thought thus traveling in both languages the same way, although in opposite directions.

The modifying elements are added to the governing substantive on the principle that nearest to the substantive stand those which form the closest connection with it from a logical point of view. If this general rule is to be applied to the various classes of modifying elements, we get the following special rules.

1. In the comparatively simple case of a modification by a common descriptive adjective and an element denoting dimensional relations, *i. e.*, in Sumerian, a so-called postposition (*e. g.*, šù "towards," "ta" from, da "with," etc.), the adjective has the precedence over the postposition; for the adjective usually denotes a quality which is more or less inherent in the substantive, whereas a dimensional relation in most cases is more or less accidental. Grammatically, or in the logic of speech, this stronger logical relation of the adjective to the substantive is expressed by placing the adjective immediately after the substantive, while the temporal interval that, owing to the insertion of the adjective, necessarily elapses between pronouncing the noun and the postposition, is utilized to denote the greater logical distance between noun and postposition. It is, of course, not the place here to investigate the exact nature of what we have called "logical relation;" having only in mind the rules of sequence which the Sumerian language has worked out for the components of a noun-governed complex, it will be sufficient to judge the greater or lesser degree of such a relation by whether and to what extent the modification of a noun is of an inherent character or only expresses a relation either to an object or an action outside of the governing noun. For our present purposes, therefore, we have to deal with only two principal classes of modifications, namely, those of descriptive and those of relational character.

According to the rule just given, the expression "to the mighty king" must be in Sumerian, lugal-kalga-šu, literally "king—mighty—towards." It will be noted that this is the

same order as is observed in corresponding English complexes, only we have to take into account that in English the governing substantive stands at the end of the complex, and that for this reason the sequence of the components must be the reverse of that found in Sumerian; cf., *e. g.*, with—great—pleasure, which shows the sequence, preposition—adjective—noun.

2. The nearest relations to the descriptive adjective, from a logical point of view, and in fact often its exact equivalents, are the descriptive genitive and the descriptive relative sentence: “a man of righteousness” and “a man who is righteous,” *e. g.*, have entirely the same meaning as “a righteous man.” On account of this logical equivalence Sumerian treats the descriptive genitive and relative sentence, as far as their position in a complex of noun and modifying elements is concerned, on exactly the same basis as the descriptive adjective; that is to say, the descriptive genitive and the descriptive relative clause take their places immediately after the noun and before the postpositions *šu*, *ta*, *da*, etc.; for the descriptive genitive compare, *e. g.*, *lugal-niggina-šu* (<*lugal-niggina(-k)-šu*) “to the king of righteousness,” literally, “king—of righteousness—to;” for the descriptive relative sentence (in its widest sense) compare *lu-ebi-mundua-šu* “to the man who built this house,” literally, “man—who built this house—to.”

This treatment of the genitive and relative sentence is a very remarkable phenomenon; for it shows how strictly Sumerian grammar, at least in the sequence of modifiers, is governed by logical thought. In English the relative sentence and the usual genitive, which is formed by means of the preposition *of*, are placed after the substantive to be modified, which of course means that English renounces a uniform principle in the arrangement of the modifying elements, since we saw that the adjective, which according to its logical significance ranks with the relative sentence and the genitive, in English is placed before the noun; however, even in English we can trace the existence of at least the tendency to treat the genitive in the same way as its adjective equivalent, inasmuch as the so-called Saxon geni-

tive is always placed before the noun, the expression "in man's heart" thus corresponding, as far as the word sequence is concerned, entirely to the expression "with great pleasure, both the genitive "man's" and the adjective "great" taking their places between preposition and governing noun.

3. An intermediary position between the descriptive adjective and the purely dimensional prepositions is held by the adjective pronouns, *e. g.*, the demonstrative pronoun *e*, *bi* "this," the interrogative pronoun *me* "what," "which," the indefinite and generalizing pronoun *anameabi* "any," the possessive pronouns *mu* "my," *zu* "thy," *ani* "his," etc. These elements differ from the common descriptive adjective in that they do not describe a quality which the noun possesses of itself, but denote a relation of the noun to objects other than itself. If thus they show a certain affinity to the postpositions, they differ from them in the essential point that the dimensional or quasi-dimensional relation which they express, is conceived as a quality inherent in the noun which they modify. From this double character it is easy to understand that in a complex of modifying elements these pronouns must be treated as adjectives, as far as their relation to the postpositions is concerned, and as elements of postpositional character, where their relation to the common descriptive adjective is concerned. From this again it follows that in a case where all three kinds of modifications occur at the same time the sequence will be noun—descriptive adjective—pronoun—postposition. *E. g.*, "to my sublime house" is in Sumerian *e-maḥ-mu-šu*, literally "house—sublime—my—to;" "to which sublime house" *e-maḥ-me-šu* = "house—sublime—which—to." Again it will be noted that English shows the same order in reversed sequence: to—my—sublime—house, house—sublime—my—to.

4. Since the descriptive genitive, as we saw, is the equivalent of the descriptive adjective, it goes without saying that the pronominal elements mentioned under 3 follow the descriptive genitive; cf., *é-gir-su^{ki}-ka-ni* (<*e-girzük-ani*) "his house of (*i. e.*, in) Girsu," Ur-Bau, Statue 4_{1, 12}; Gudea, Statue I 3₉. In

many of these cases, however, the connection of the governing substantive with the modifying genitive is regarded as a grammatical unit, or in other words, as a compound, to such an extent that the genitive *k* at the end of the genitive complex may be disregarded, as, *e. g.*, in *dam-ša-ga-a-ni* (= *damšagâni* < *dam-šaga(k)-^ani*), literally “his wife of the heart” or “his heart-wife,” *i. e.*, “his beloved wife.”¹

5. Those cases in which a noun is modified by two nominal elements at the same time naturally deal only with combinations of a possessive pronoun on the one hand and either a demonstrative, an interrogative or an indefinite pronoun on the other. So far as my present grammatical material goes, there are clear cases only for a combined modification by a possessive and an indefinite pronoun in the expressions *ibila-ni a-na-me-a-bi* “whatever heir of his,” “any heir of his,” literally “heir—his—whatever,”² and *ibila-ne-ne a-na-me-a-bi* “whatever heir of theirs,” “any heir of theirs,” literally “heir—their—whatever.”³ But as the demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns logically belong to the same category of pronouns, there cannot be the slightest doubt that in combinations of possessive and demonstrative elements as, *e. g.*, in an expression like “this my house,” or in a combination of possessive and interrogative pronouns as in “which house of mine?” the same order has to be observed, namely, noun—descriptive adjective—possessive pronoun—demonstrative, interrogative or indefinite pronoun—postposition. The logical reason for this sequence is very evident; ownership, which is expressed by the possessive pronoun, is a relation of a far more concrete and less subjective nature than the ideas expressed by the demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns, which in fact represent the nearest approach of an adjective element to the elements of dimensional character. To some

¹ 5R 2546; the possessive element (a)ni refers to the compound *damšaga*, not as Delitzsch in *Sumerische Grammatik* §38c assumes, to *šag* “heart” alone, in which case it would, of course, necessarily be combined with the genitive element to (a)na; *dam-šag-an(i)-a(k)*.

² BE VI 2, No. 4516, etc.

³ BE VI 2, No. 1222.

extent we may again observe the same sequence in English, namely, in demonstrative expressions like "this—my—beautiful—house," beside which, however, we find also "this beautiful house of mine," "which house of mine," "any house of mine."

6. From a logical point of view the possessive pronoun is the equivalent of the possessive genitive; the rules which have been set forth under No. 3 concerning the possessive pronoun therefore apply also to the possessive genitive. That is to say, the scheme for the sequence of modifying elements which include a possessive genitive must be, governing substantive—descriptive adjective—possessive genitive—postposition; cf., *e. g.*, *e-maḥ-lugalla-šu* "to the sublime house of the king," literally "house—sublime—of the king—to." In English we may observe the same correspondence between possessive pronoun and possessive genitive at least in the case of the Saxon genitive; *e. g.*, the expression "men's greatest achievements," as regards the sequence of modifying elements, corresponds exactly to the expression "his greatest achievements."

7. Likewise, although we have no clear proof for it from the inscriptions, we have to assume that the remarks in 4 concerning the relation of the possessive pronoun to the demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns apply also to the possessive genitive; that is to say, in a case where a noun is modified by a possessive genitive and a demonstrative, interrogative or indefinite pronoun, the pronoun will be placed after the genitive.

8. In Sumerian the plural elements also are conceived as modifiers of the noun. There are two plural elements -ene and -meš, which differ from each other in that the latter expresses only the pure plural idea, while the former has at the same time determining force. *Me-eš* is compounded of the element *m(e)* "to be" and *eš* "many;" *lugal-me-eš*, literally "king—being—many," therefore denotes the indefinite plural "kings." The element -ene, on the other hand, is the plural of the demonstrative element *e* "this" (originally probably "this one" = "he");

lugal-ene, literally "king—these," therefore, is the definite plural "the kings."

Since the plural element -ene, as we just have seen, contains a demonstrative pronominal element, it follows that its position in a complex of modifying elements must of necessity be that of the demonstrative pronoun; the scheme consequently is noun—descriptive adjective—possessive genitive—plural element ene—postposition. Compare the frequently occurring expressions dingir-galgal-ene "the great gods" and dingir-gal-gal-an-ki-bi-da-ge-ne (= dingir-galgal-ankibidag-ene) "the great gods of heaven and earth," literally "god—(very) great—of heaven and earth—these (or they)."

We shall see later, when speaking of the personal pronouns, that in all likelihood the plural element ene is not formed by adding a special plural element ne, but probably has arisen from a reduplication of the singular e. From a logical point of view, therefore, the primary element in -ene is the demonstrative idea "this," whereas the plural idea, conveyed by the repetition of the demonstrative element, comes only second in the logical sequence, as is, moreover, conclusively proved by the fact that the plural of the demonstrative adjective e "this," may be formed, beside -e-ne, as -e-me-eš, *i. e.*, the demonstrative e and the pure plural element me-eš.¹ It will be observed that here again there is a complete correspondence between logical sequence and sequence of words. From the above, however, it is at once clear that in a complex of modifiers the plural element meš must likewise take its place after the pronominal elements. The scheme for complexes containing this plural element is therefore noun—descriptive adjective—possessive genitive—pronominal elements—plural element meš—postposition. Cf. lù-ne-me-eš-da "with these men," literally "man—this—being many—with;"² dumu-ni-meēš "sons of his"

¹ Cf. lù-ù-ne (< lu-ene) = šunu "they," No. 152 Col. 6, 7, besides lù-e-me-eš-a = annûtim "(upon) these (men)," *ibid.* Col. 527.

² No. 152 Col. 510.

(in this case perhaps also definite "his sons"), literally "son—his—being many."¹

9. A word, finally, remains to be said on the genitive modifier, because a group like *lugal-a(k)* "of the king" by itself represents a complex of the same order as we have discussed in the foregoing, consisting of the governing substantive *lugal* and a modifying element, namely, the genitive particle *-ak*, which, like the genitive element in many other languages, ranks with the elements of dimensional meaning, *i. e.*, in Sumerian, with the postpositions, while in English with the prepositions: *ak* = "of." All the rules that have been set forth for the main complex therefore likewise apply to the genitive complex; if, *e. g.*, the substantive of the genitive complex is to be modified by a descriptive adjective, this adjective has to be inserted between the substantive and the postpositional element *-ak*; "of the mighty king" is therefore *lugal-kalga-(k)*, literally "king—mighty—of," the sequence being substantive—adjective—postposition. The same rule, of course, holds good also for the very interesting case where the substantive of the genitive complex again is modified by a genitive; "of the king of Ur" is therefore *lugal-urim-ak-a(k)* written *lugal-uri^{ki}-ma-ka*, the genitive *urim-ak* indeed being inserted between the substantive *lugal* and its genitive element *ak*. It will be noticed that the result of the strict carrying through of the rules of sequence in these cases of a double genitive construction is that the two, or, if we add the necessary substantive on which the whole phrase depends, the three governing substantives immediately follow one upon the other, as do likewise the two genitive elements at the end of the complex. *E. g.*, such a phrase as "in the palace of the king of Ur," *egal-lugal-urim-ak-ak-a*, written *é-gal-lugal-uri^{ki}-ma-ka-ka*, shows the remarkable sequence noun + noun + noun + genitive element + genitive element + postposition, the logical and, what is the same, the grammatical relations of which may be illustrated by

¹ BE III 1 No. 110 Col. 81, 6.

the scheme ([noun + ([noun + (noun + genitive element)] + genitive element)] + postposition). This arrangement differs, of course, materially from that in English, where the corresponding genitive complexes, *e. g.*, "the palace of the king of Ur," form a simple chain: noun + genitive element + noun + genitive element + noun; whereas in Sumerian we notice a concentric arrangement as may easily be seen by comparing the corresponding English and Sumerian elements in the following scheme:

egal	—	lugal	—	urim	—	ak	—	a(k)
1		3		5		4		2
the palace		the king		Ur		of		of.

10. The complete scheme of the sequence of the various components of a noun-governed complex, as set forth above, is the following:

Governing noun + $\frac{\text{descriptive adjective}}{\text{descriptive genitive}}$ + $\frac{\text{possessive pronoun}}{\text{possessive genitive}}$
demonstrative pronoun
 + interrogative pronoun + plural element + dimensional element.
 indefinite pronoun

II
THE PERSONAL PRONOUN IN
SUMERIAN

THE PERSONAL PRONOUN IN SUMERIAN

The pronoun is one of those elements of the Sumerian language which have hitherto most pertinaciously eluded a correct recognition. Text No. 152 is therefore of the highest importance for the Sumerian grammarian, since it gives us paradigms of the demonstrative and of some of the personal pronouns. The preserved part of the tablet unfortunately contains only a little more than a fourth of the original text which was written in sixteen double columns, eight on each side of the tablet.

TRANSCRIPTIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

No. 152

Cols. 1-4 missing. Only a few signs of Col. 4 preserved.

Column 5

[lù-e-b]i-da	ga-dum an-ni-i-im	together with this one
[lù-e-b]i-da-me-eš	ga-dum an-nu-u-tim	together with these
<hr/>		
lù-e-bi-da-ám	ga-dum an-ni-i-im-ma	it is (was) together with
lù-e-bi-da-kam	ga-dum an-ni-i-im-ma	this one that . . .
5 lù-e-bi-da-me-eš-ám	ga-dum an-nu-tim-ma	it is (was) together with
lù-e-me-eš ¹ -da-kam	ga-dum an-nu-tim-ma	these that . . .

¹ Between me-eš and da a sign is erased.

	lù-ne'-da	it-ti an-ni-i-im	with this one
	ki-lù-ne-ta	it-ti an-ni-i-im	with this one
	lù-ne-da-me-eš	it-ti an-nu-u-tim	with these
10	lù-ne-me-eš-da	it-ti an-nu-tim	with these
<hr/>			
	lù-ne-da-kam	it-ti an-ni-i-im-ma	it is (was) with this
	lù-ne-(n)ì-me-a-da	it-ti an-ni-i-im-ma	one that . . .
	lù-ne-da (n)ì-me-a	it-ti an-ni-i-im-ma	it is (was) with this
	ki-lù-ne-ta-ám	it-ti an-ni-i-im-ma	one that . . .
15	lù-ne-da-me-eš-ám	it-ti an-nu-tim-ma	it is (was) with
	lù-ne-me-eš-da		
	(n)ì-me-a	it-ti an-nu-tim-ma	these that . . .
<hr/>			
	lù-ne-ra	a-na an-ni-i-im	to this one
	lù-ne-ir	a-na an-ni-i-im	to this one
	lù-ne-a	a-na an-ni-i-im	to this one
20	lù-ne-šù	a-na an-ni-i-im	to this one
	lù-ne-me-eš-ra	a-na an-nu-u-tim	to these
<hr/>			
	lù-ne-šù-ám	a-na an-ni-i-im-ma	it is (was) to this one that . . .
	lù-ne-me-eš-šù-ám	a-na an-nu-u-tim-ma	it is (was) to these that . . .
<hr/>			
	lù-ne-a	an-ni-a-am	this one
25	lù-ne-ir	an-ni-a-am	this one
	lù-e-ra	an-ni-a-am	this one
	lù-e-me-eš-a	an-nu-u-tim	these
	lù-ne-me-eš-ra	an-nu-u-tim	these
<hr/>			
	lù-ne-ir-(n)ì-me-a	an-ni-a-am-ma	it is (was) this one whom . . .
30	lù-e-me-eš-ra (n)ì-me-a	an-nu-u-tim-ma	it is (was) these whom . . .
<hr/>			
	lù-ne-ir	e-li an-ni-i-im	to (upon, against) this one
	lù-ne-ir an-diri	e-li an-ni-i-im ra-bi	he is greater than this one
	lù-ne-ra	e-li an-ni-i-im	to (etc.) this one

¹ For the reading of the sign izû see 5 R 31, 13, ^{ni-e}ne | an-nu-u. Is (n)e perhaps identical with e "this," the n merely serving to avoid the hiatus or to make the pronoun more conspicuous?

35	diri-lù-ne-a lù-ne-me-eš-ra	e-li an-ni-i-im [e-li an-]nu-u-tim	more than this one to (etc.) these
	[lù-]ne-šù [lù-]ne-me-eš-šù	a-na ši-e-ir an-ni-i-im a-na ši-e-ir an-nu-tim	upon (against) this one upon (against, towards) these
	[lù-n]e-šù [lù-ne-me-]eš-šù	a-na ši-e-ir an-ni-i-im a-na ši-e-ir an-nu-um- mu-tim	upon (against, to) this one upon (against, to) these
40	[... ..] [... ..] [... ..]	a-na ši-e-ir an-ni-i-im a-n]a ši-e-ir an-ni-i-im [... ..]-di a-na ši-e-]ir an-nu-tim	upon (against, to) this one <i>upon</i> this one <i>be</i> upon (against, to) these
45	[... ..] [... ..]	a-na ši-e-ir an-ni-i-]im a-na ši-e-ir an-nu-t]im	upon (against, to) this one upon (against, to) these

The rest of the column is missing.

Column 6

	me-en-ze-en	at-tu-nu	you
	za-e-me-en-ze-en	at-tu-nu	you
	za-e-me-en-ze-en	at-tu-nu	you
	e-ne-ne	šu-nu	they
5	e-ne-ne-ne	šu-nu	they
	lù-ù-ne	šu-nu	they
	lù-bi-ne	šu-nu	they
	ḥar-me-eš	šu-nu	they
	ḥar-bi	šu-nu	they
10	me-en-dé-ám	ni-i-nu-ma	it is (was) we who ...
	me-en-da-nam	ni-i-nu-ma	it is (was) we who ...
	me-de-en-da-nam	ni-i-nu-ma	it is (was) we who ...
	me-en-za-nam	at-tu-nu-ma	it is (was) you who ...

za-e me-en-za-nam	at-tu-nu-ma	it is (was) you who ...
15 e-ne-ne-ám	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
lù-ù-ne-ám	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
lù-bi-ne-ám	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
ḥar-me-eš-ám	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
ḥar-bi-ám	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
20 nī-me-en-dé-en-nam	nī-i-nu-ma	it is (was, has been) we who ...
nī-me-en-ze-en-nam	at-tu-nu-ma	it is (was) you who ...
e-ne-ne (n)i-me-a ¹	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
lù-ù-ne (n)i-me-ám	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
ḥar-(n)i-me-eš-ám	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
25 ḥar-bi (n)i-me-ám	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
me-en-dé-na-nam	nī-i-nu-ma	it is (was) we who ...
me-en-dé-en-na-nam	nī-i-nu-ma	it is (was) we who ...
me-de-en-dé-en-na-nam	nī-i-nu-ma	it is (was) we who ...
me-en-ze-en-na-nam	at-tu-nu-ma	it is (was) you who ...
30 za(-e-me-)en-ze-en-na-nam	at-tu-nu-ma	it is (was) you who ...
e-ne-ne-na-nam	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
lù-ù-ne-na-nam	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
ḥar-na-nam-me-eš	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
ḥar-bi-na-nam	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
35 in-ga-me-en-dé-en	nī-i-nu-[ma]	it is (was) we who ...
in-ga-me-en-da-nam	nī-i-nu-ma	it is (was) we who ...
in-ga-me-en-ze-en	at-tu-nu-ma	it is (was) you who ...
in-ga-me-en-za-nam	at-tu-nu-ma	it is (was) you who ...
in-ga-me-eš-ám	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
40 e-ne-ne in-ga-me-a	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
e-ne-ne an-ga-ám	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
ḥar-an-ga-me-eš	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...
ḥar-bi an-ga-ám	šu-nu-ma	it is (was) they who ...

¹ Evidently mistake for ám (= a-an).

	me-en-dé-nu	ul ni-i-nu	not we
45	me-en-de-in-nu	ul ni-i-nu	not we
	nu-me-en-dé-en	ul ni-i-nu	not we
	me-en-ze-en-in-nu	ul at-tu-nu	not you
	me-en-ze-en-in-nu	u-ul at-tu-nu	not you
	[nu-me-en-z]e-en	u-ul at-tu-nu	not you
50	[e-ne-ne-n]u	u-ul šu-nu	not they
	[e-ne-ne-in-nu	u-ul šu-n]u	not they

The rest of column is missing.

Column 7

	me-en-dé-e[n . . . . .	. . . . .]	we
	me-en-ze-en[ . . . . .	. . . . .]	you
	e-ne-ne- . . . . [ . . . . .	. . . . .]	they
<hr/>			
	me-en-dé-nam-mu	m[i-nu	<i>why</i> we
5	me-en-ze-en-nam-mu	mi-nu[	<i>why</i> you
	e-ne-ne-nam-mu	mi-nu[šu-nu	<i>why</i> they
<hr/>			
	me-en-dé-en-e-še	ni-i-nu[-mi]	we (<i>of course</i>) ¹
	me-en-ze-en-e-še	at-tu-nu-m[i	you (<i>of course</i>)
	e-ne-ne-e-še	šu-nu-mi	they (<i>of course</i>)
<hr/>			
10	me-en-dé-giš-en	ni-i-nu-ma-an	we
	me-en-ze-en-giš-en	at-tu-nu-ma-an	you
	e-ne-ne-giš-en	šu-nu-ma-an	they
<hr/>			
	ù ² -me-dé-me-dé	ni-nu ni-nu-ù	we <i>all, each of us</i> ³
	ù-me-en-ze-en-me-en-ze- en	at-tu-nu at-tu-nu-ù	you <i>all, each of you</i>
15	ù-e-ne-ne-ḥar-bi	šu-nu šu-nu-ù	they <i>all, each of them</i>

¹ Is e-še perhaps a verbal form "thou grantest (thou hast granted)"?

² Underneath the ù a sign in small script is written.

³ Or perhaps "we, one after the other," or "we one another"?

	me-en-dé ù me-en-ze-en	ni-nu ù at-tu-nu	we and you
	me-dé me-en-ze-en-bi	ni-nu ù at-tu-nu	we and you
	me-en-dé e-ne-ne-bi	ni-nu ù šu-nu	we and they
	ḥar-bi me-en-dé-da	šu-nu ù ni-i-nu	they and we
20	me-dé-da-nam-me	e-la ni-a-ti	besides us
	nam-da-me-en-da-na	e-la ni-a-ti	besides us
	nam-da-me-en-za-na	e-la ku-nu-ti	besides you
	e-ne-ne-da-nam-me	e-la šu-nu-ti	besides them
	nam-da-me-eš-a	e-la šu-nu-ti	besides them
25	me-en-dé-da-nam-me-a	šum-ma-an la ni-a-ti	<i>if not we (who could ...)</i>
	nam-da-me-en-da-na	šum-ma-an la ni-a-ti	<i>if not we (who could ...)</i>
	nam-da-me-en-za-na	šum-ma-an la ku-nu-ti	<i>if not you (who could ...)</i>
	e-ne-ne-da-nam-me-a	šum-ma-an la šu-nu-ti	<i>if not they (who could ...)</i>
	nam-da-me-eš-a	šum-ma-an la šu-nu-ti	<i>if not they (who could ...)</i>
30	me-en-dé-da-na-an-nam	e-la-ma-an ni-a-ti	besides us (emphatic)
	me-en-ze-en-da-na-an-nam	e-la-ma-an ku-nu-ti	besides you (emphatic)
	e-ne-ne-da-na-an-nam	e-la-ma-an šu-nu-ti	besides them (emphatic)
	me-dé-da-nu-me-a	i-na b[a-lu-ni]	without us
	me-da-nu	i-na ba-l[a-ni]	without us
35	me-en-ze-en-da-nu-me-a	i-na ba-l[u -ku-nu]	without you
	e-ne-ne-da-nu-me-a	i-na ba-lu-š[u -nu]	without them
	á-še-na-an-me-da	lu-ma-an la [ni-a-ti]	..... us
	me-en-dé-na-an-na	ša la n[i-a-ti]	without us
	me-en-ze-en-na-an-na	ša la [ku-nu-ti]	without us
40	e-ne-ne-na-an-na	ša la [šu-nu-ti]	without us
	me-en-dé-a-šub-ba	e-z[i-ib ni-a-ti]	apart from us

šub-ba-me-en-ze-en	e-zi[-ib ku-nu-ti]	apart from you
e-ne-ne-a-šub-ba	e-zi[-ib šu-nu-ti]	apart from them
šub-ba-me-en-da-nam	e-zi-i[b]	it is (was) apart from us that . .
45 šub-ba-me-en-za-nam	e-zi-i[b]	it is (was) apart from you that . .
e-ne-ne-a-šub-ba-kam	e-z[i-ib]	it is (was) apart from them that . .
...-da-me-en-de-en	ga[-dum ni-a-a-ti]	together with us

The rest of the column is missing.

Column 8

The beginning of the column is missing.

me-[e[n-ze-en-šù-ám	a-na ku-nu-ti-ma]	it is (was) to you that
e-ne-n[e-]	a-na šu-nu-ti-ma]	it is (was) to them that .
[e-]ne-ne-šù-á[m	a-na šu-nu-ti-ma]	it is (was) to them that

	[me-e]n-dé-a	ni-a-t[i]	us
5'	[me-e]n-dé-ir	ni-a-ti	us
	me-en-dé-ra	ni-a-ti	us
	za-ra-an-ze-en	ku-nu-ti	you
	za-a-an-ze-en	ku-nu-ti	you
	e-ne-ne-ra	šu-nu-ti	them
10'	me-en-dé-ir	ni-a-ti-ma	it is (was) we whom
	ni-me-en-da-na		
	me-en-dé-a-ám	ni-a-ti-ma	it is (was) we whom
	za-[. . .]-ni-me-en-za-na	ku-nu-ti-ma	it is (was) you whom
	me-en-ze-ir-kam	ku-nu-ti-ma	it is (was) you whom
15'	e-ne-ne-ir-ni-me-a	šu-nu-ti-ma	it is (was) they whom
	e-ne-ne-ra-ám	šu-nu-ti-ma	it is (was) they whom
	me-en-dé-ra	e-li-ni	upon (against, to) us
	me-en-dé-ir an-diri-gi-eš	e-li-ni wa-at-ru	they are more than we

	za-ra-an-ze-en	e-li-ku-nu	upon (against, to) you
20'	me-en-ze-en-ra	e-li-ku-nu	upon (against, to) you
	e-ne-ne-ir	e-li-šu-nu	upon (against, to) them
<hr/>			
	ki-me-šù	a-na ši-e-ri-ni	upon (against, to) us
	ugu-me-šù	a-na ši-e-ri-ku-nu ¹	upon (against) you
	ki-ne-ne-šù	a-na ši-e-r[i]-šu-nu	upon (against) them
25'	ugu?-ne-ne-šù	a-na ši-e-ri-[šu]-nu	upon (against) them

The rest of the column is missing.

Column 9

The beginning of the column is missing.

	i[gi].....	.....]	.....
	igi-.....	.....]	.....
	igi-...[...-]ta	[.....]	.....
	bar-mu-ta	[iš-tu wa-ar-ki-ia]	from behind me
5	bar-zu-ta	[iš-t[u wa-ar-ki-ka]	from behind you
	bar-bi-ta	[i]š-tu wa-ar-k[i-i?]-šu	from behind him
	bar-me-ta	[i]š-t[u wa-ar-]ki-ni	from behind us
	súh-ám	[a-]h[u-la-ap	deliverance! ²
	súh-ám-bi	[a-]u-la-ap-šu	his deliverance
10	súh-ám-bi-ne	[a-]u-la-ap-šu-nu	their deliverance
	in-ga-ḫul	[i]n-na-ḫi-iš	he is (has been) <i>ruined</i>
	in-ga-ḫul-eš	[i]n-na-aḫ-šu	they are (have been) <i>ruined</i>
	me-a	[a]-lí	where?
	me-ám	[a]-lí-ma	where is (was) it that...
15	me-a-an-sī	a-lí-šu	where is he?

¹ Sic? The scribe here evidently made a mistake by jumping two half lines and one whole line which have to be supplied as follows:

ki-me-šù	a-na ši-e-ri-ni
ugu-me-šù	a-na ši-e-ri-ni
ki-zu-ne-šù	a-na ši-e-ri-ku-nu
ugu-zu-ne-šù	a-na ši-e-ri-ku-nu

² *I. e.*, "O come, deliverance," "when will deliverance come?"

me-a-an-še	a-lí-šu	where is he?
me-a-an-ti	a-lí-šu	where is he?
me-a-an-bi ¹	a-lí-šu	where is he?
me-a-an-si-eš	a-lí šu-nu	where are they?
20 me-a-an-ti-eš	a-lí šu-nu	where are they?
me-a ni-ti-eš	a-lí šu-nu	where are they?
me-a-an-ti-en	a-lí a-na-ku	where am I?
me-a ni-ti-en	a-lí a-na-ku	where am I?
me-a-an-ti-en	a-lí at-ta	where art thou?
25 me-a-an-ti-en-dé-en	a-lí ni-i-nu	where are we?
me-a-an-ti-en-ze-en	a-lí at-tu-nu	where are you?
me-a-an-[s]i	a-i-ki-a-am šu-u	where is he?
me-a-an [š]e	a-i-ki-a-am šu-u	where is he?
ki-me-a -a[n-s]i	a-i-ki-a-am šu-u	where is he?
30 me-na-a-a[n-s]i	a-i-ki-a-am šu-u	where is he?
[.....-t]i	a-i-ki-a-am-šu-u	where is he?
[.....s]i	a-i-ki-a-am a-n[a-ku]	where am I?
[.....]	a-i-ki-a-am a[t-ta]	where art thou?
[.....]	a-i-ki-a-a[m	where are <i>we</i> ?
[.....]	a-i[-ki-a-am	where are <i>you</i> ?

The rest of the column is missing.

Column 10

The beginning of the column is missing.

[.....]...	u-ul a-i-ša-am-ma	it was to no place that...
[me-šù a-túm	e-iš ub-ba-al a-na-ku	whither do (shall) I carry?
5 me-da a-túm	a-i ub-ba-al	where do I carry?
me-šù e-túm	a-iš tu-ub-ba-al	whither dost thou carry?
me-da e-túm	e tu-ub-ba-al	where dost thou carry?
me-šù an-túm	a-iš ub-ba-al	whither does he carry?
me-da an-túm	a-i ub-ba-al	where does he carry?
10 ki-me-šù	a-na a-i-im	to what place?

¹ On account of the b this was probably pronounced me-ám-bi.

	ki-me-a	a-na a-i-im	to what place?
	me-da	ma-ti	when?
	me-da-kam	ma-ti-ma	always, at any time
	me-da-aš	a-na ma-ti	how long?
15	me-da-ta	iš-tu ma-ti	since when?
	me-da-me-da-kam	ma-ti ma-ti-ma	at any time whatsoever
	me-da-ta me-da-šù	iš-tu ma-ti	from when
		a-na ma-ti	to when?
	me-na	ma-ti	when?
20	me-na-ám	ma-ti-ma	at any time.
	me-na-šù	a-na ma-ti	how long?
	me-na-šù-ám	a-na ma-ti-ma	forever
	me-na me-na-ám	ma-ti ma-ti-ma	at any time whatever
	me-na-ta me-na-šù	iš-tu ma-ti (a-na ma-ti)	since when to when
25	me-na-šù	a-di ma-ti	how long?
	me-na-šù-ám	a-di ma-ti-ma	forever
	en-na-me-šù	a-di ma-ti	how long?
	en-na-me-šù-ám	a-di ma-ti-ma	forever
	li-šù	a-di ma-ti	how long?
30	li-šù-ám	a-di ma-ti-m[a]	forever
	a-[- . . . . .]	. . . . .

The rest of the column is missing.

Column 11

The beginning of the column is missing.

3	[. -d]a-ri	ul-li-ti-iš	long ago
	. . . . .-da-da-ri	ul- . . . -li-a-az-zu	. . . . .
5	û-3-kam-ma	ša-la-šu-mi	day before yesterday
	[.]-li-eš-a	ša-la-šu-mi	day before yesterday
	û-dam-ma-ri-a	ti-ma-li	yesterday
	û-KU-nu-ri-a	ti-ma-li	yesterday
	û-ri-eš	ti-ma-li	yesterday
10	ša-dū-ga an-de	ti-ma-li-a-at-tam	during yesterday
	ša-dū-ba	am-ša-li	yesterday (last night)

ša-dū-ba-ta	iš-tu am-ša-li	since yesterday (last night)
ša-dū-ba-ám	am-ša-li-ma	it is (was) yesterday that. . . .
gè-a	mu-ša-am	during the night
15 IGI-ZĀL	ba-ra-a-ri	at the (first) shining (of the stars) ¹
súh-súh-ám	zi-iḥ-zi-ḥi ¹	at the.
á-û-te-na	i-na li-li-a-tim	in the evening
á-gú-zi-ga	še-e-ir-tum	the dawn
šé-šé-dam	ka-za-a ² -at-tam-ma	while it is (was) cool
20 gě-da-ta	i-na ka-za-a-tim	during the cool time
á-û-te-gè-ba	mu-uš-ka-za-a-at	during the cool time of the night
û-zal-šù	a-di ur-ra-am	until daylight
gě-zal-šù	a-di ka-za-a-tim	until the cool time (of the night)
û-šú-uš	û-mi-ša-am	daily
25 á-û-bi-šù	û-mi-ša-am	daily
û-aš-ám	û-ma-ak-kal	the whole day
gě-Ū-na	mu-ši ù ur-ri	night and day
gě-û-da	mu-ši ù ur-ri	night and day
gě-bi-ta û-te-en-šù	mu-ša-am a-di ur-ri-im	the night till morning
30 nim-sî-bi	ka-za-a-tam ù li-li-a-tam	during the cool time (of the morning) and during the evening
û-MĀ-LUM-e-gí-a	ka-za-a-tum	the cool time (of the morning)
û-damal-bi-šù-gí-a	li-li-a-tum	the evening
û-é-LUM-e-gí-a-ta	^d šamaš	from sunrise
û-damal-bi-šù-gí-a-šù	a-na ^d šamaš	to sunset
35 û-è	ši-i-it ^d šamši-im	sunrise
û-šù	e-ri-ib ^d šamši-i[m]	sunset
gě-û-bi	ši-i-it ^d šamši-[im]	morning (sunrise)
	ù e-ri-ib ^d šamši-i[m]	and evening (sunset)
è-šú-šù	a-na ši-it ^d šamši-i[m]	towards sunrise (east)
40	ù e-ri-ib ^d šamši-im	and sunset (west)

¹ Loanword from Sumerian.² The original has za.

û-dagal-la
û-á-an-maš
û-te

û-um ma-ši-il
û-um ma-ši-il
tam-ḫi-a-am

in the middle of the day
in the middle of the day
in the evening.

On upper edge:

No. 103

Column 12

The beginning of the column is missing.

	k]i-a-[
	ki-a[-	
	ki-a-a[m]-ma	it was thus that ...
5	ki-a-am ki-a-am	.....
	zu-ur-ri zu-ur-ri	.....
	ki-a-am	thus
	ki-a-am	thus
	ki-a-am-ma	it is (was) thus that
10	a-na ki-a-am	unto that, for that
	a-na ki-a-am-ma	it is (was) unto that that ...
	i-na ki-a-am	therein, therefrom
	i-na ki-a-am-ma	it is (was) therein, therefrom
		that ...
	aš-šum ki-a-am	therefore
15	aš-šum ki-a-am	therefore
	aš-šum ki-a-am	therefore
	ki-ma ki-a-am	like that
	ki-ma ki-a-am	like that
	ši-i lu-ki-a-am	may this be thus (or ...)
20	ši-i lu-ki-a-am-ma	may this be thus
	lu-u a-na ki-a-am-ma	be it for that ... (or ...)
	lu-u aš-šum ki-a-am-ma	be it for that ... (or ...)
	ki-a-šu	thus is he
	la ki-a-šu	not thus is he
25	u-ul ki-a-am	it was not thus
	u-ul ki-a-šu	he was not thus

[ḥar-]ra-ám-in-nu-ù	u-ul ki-a-am-ma-a	it is not thus that it was
[ḥa]r-nu-me-a	la ki-a-am	it is not thus; not thus
[ḥa]r-nu-me-a	e-zu-ub ki-a-am	apart from that
30 [ḥa]r-bi-da	ga-du-um ki-a-am	together with that
[.....]-ḥar-dím	ma ki-a-am	..... like that ¹
[.....]-ḥar-ra-aš	ma a-na ki-a-am	..... unto that ²
[.....]im	ma lu-u ki-a-am	be it that
[..... -a]m	ši-i ki-a-am	it is that, thus
35 [..... -a]m	an-ni-tum ši-i	that is it
[.....]	ga-dum ki-a-am	together with that
[.....]	ga-dum ki-a-am-ma	it is together with that that
ḥar	ši-i	it

On upper edge:

[...+]30

CT 19, 12 (K 4258)

Reverse, Last Column

The beginning is missing.

[.....]
e-ne-nu-me-a[	.....	it was not he who
e-ne-in-ga-me-a	[.....]	it was he who ...
e-ne-in-ga-me-a	[.....]	it was he who ...
e-ne-da-me-a... ³	.....	.....
e-ne-šub-b[a!	e-ṣi-ib-šu]	besides him
e-ne-da-šub-[ba	.....	.....
e-ne-[...]	.....	.....
e-ne [	.....	.....
e-ne-...[	.....	.....
e-ne[	.....	.....
e-n[e-....	.....	.....

The continuation is missing.

¹ Perhaps: namely thus.

² Perhaps: namely for this reason.

³ Perhaps e-ne-da-me-ám

THE FORMS OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUN

I. NOMINATIVE

INDEPENDENT

Simple forms	Enlarged forms	
mà-e	mu-me-en	I
za-e	za-e-me-en, ze-me-en, ze-mén	thou
e-ne	.....	he, she
me-en-dé, me-dé, me-en-dé-en	me-dé-en-dé, me-dé-en-dé-en	we
me-en-ze-en	za-e-me-en-ze-en	you
e-ne-ne	e-ne-ne-ne	they

ENCLITIC

Simple forms			
After verbs		After nouns	
Present-future	Intransitive	Permansive	
-en	-en	-me-en	I
-en	-en	-me-en	thou
-e	—	-(â)m	he, she
-en-dé(-en)	-en-dé(-en)	.....	we
-en-ze-en	-en-ze-en	.....	you
-e-ne	-eš	-a-me-eš	they

Enlarged forms

With verbs	With nouns	
ma-e—en	mà-e—me-en	I
za-e—en	za-e—me-en	thou
e-ne—e; —	e-ne—ám	he
.....	.....	we
.....	.....	you
e-ne-ne(-ne)—e-ne,-eš;	e-ne-ne—a-me-eš	they

INFIXED

Preterit and Active Permansive

-ʔ,—	I	.....	we
-e,—	thou	....	you
-n-	he, she	-n—eš;	they
-b-	it, they (coll.)		

2. GENITIVE

ABSOLUTE

mà-a(-k...), mà(-k...)	of me
za-a(-k...), za(-k...)	of thee
e-ne(-k...)	of him
.....	of us
.....	of you
e-ne-ne(-k....)	of them

Cf. mà-a-kam = ma'ak-am (or mâk-am?) "it is mine," 152 Col. 1, and perhaps mà-a-ge-eš "for my sake," "on my account," 154 Col. 59, in the names:

- ⁹ mà-a-ge-eš-ḫe-ti aš-šum-ia li(-ib-luṭ) = "may he live for my sake."
¹⁰ mà-a-ge-eš-ḫe-šā li(-.....) = "may he be prosperous for my sake."
¹¹ mà-a-ge-eš ḫa-ma-ti li(-.....) = "may he live for me for my sake."

ENCLITIC

-mu	my	-me	our
-zu	thy	-zu-ne	your
-(a-)ni	his	-(a-)ne-ne	their

3. LOCATIVE

ABSOLUTE

mà-a	upon me	me-en-dé-a	upon us
za-a	upon thee	za-a-an-ze-en	upon you
e-ne-a	upon him	e-ne-ne-a	upon them

4. DATIVE

INDEPENDENT	INFIXES	
mà-a-ra, mà-a-ar	-(')a-	to me
zà-ra	-(e)ra-, -(e)ri-	to thee
e-ne-ra, e-ne-ir	-na-	to him
me-en-dé-ra, me-en-dé-ir	-me-a-	to us
me-en-ze-en-ra, me-en-ze-ir	-e-ne-a-, -(e)ne-a ¹	to you
za-ra-an-ze-en		
e-ne-ne-ra, e-ne-ne-ir	-ne-	to them

The dependent forms of the dative pronoun is frequently supplemented by the independent pronoun. Cf. 25 Col. 1 ¹⁸lugal-mu mà-a-ra ma-an-dū ^{19d}en-ki-ge mà-a-ra ma-an-taḥ "my lord has given me command," "my lord has given me orders;" ⁵¹⁸éš-é-ninnu-na dū-ba za-ra ma-ra-an-dū "to build the house of E-ninnu he commanded thee," Gudea, Cyl. A.

ANALYSIS OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

As to the composition of the personal pronouns the following elements have to be regarded as characteristic of the person: m of the first person of the singular: *mae*, *mumen* "I," *-mu* "my," and *-me* "our;" z of the second person: in the singular forms *ṣae*, *ṣemen* "thou (art);" in the plural forms: *menṣen*, *-enṣen*, *menṣan-* "you;" *zu* "thy;" *ṣunene* "your" and *ṣaranṣen* "to you;" e of the third person: *ene* "he," pl. *enene*, *enenene* "they," and in the endings *-e*, pl. *-ene*; *-en* of the first and second persons: endings *-en*, *-men* "I," "thou;" in the plural forms *menzen* "we" and *menden* "you" and the endings *-enden* "we" and *-enzen* "you;" me of the first person plural: *me* "our," *-me-a-* "to us," *-me-da-* "with us," etc.;

¹ Perhaps also *-(e)ra-ne-*; cf. ḥa-mu-ra-ne-si-mu "may he give to you(?)," ITT I 1100₁₆. Can then a corresponding dative of the first person plural *-(')a-ne-* be assumed?

² Literally "has added to me," *i. e.*, "has put upon me," "hat mir aufgetragen" = "has commanded me."

d(e) of the first person plural: *mede*, *medende*(n); ' of the first person singular: -' -, a'- "I," (-)mu'si- "to me," -'a- "to me," etc.; e of the second person (-)mueši- "to thee," *e*- "thou" and in the plural form -e-ne-a "to you;" n of the third person: (a)ni "his," (a)nene "their," -n- "he," -n—eš "they;" b of the third person collective: bi "its," "their," "the," -b- "it," "they."¹

It will be seen from the list just given that the Sumerian language has developed several systems of elements characteristic of the person, which may be grouped as follows:

	Infixd	Enclitic possessive	Absolute	Suffixed
1. pers.	)	m	m (de and en)	en
2. pers.	e	z	z (and en)	en
3. pers.	n	n	e	e (or —)
3. coll.	b	b		

With our present material it is, of course, entirely out of the question to trace these systems to their very origin, apart perhaps from the general assumption that the various pronominal elements ultimately go back to a variety of demonstrative elements, an assumption that, e.g., would easily explain the fact that *e* denotes the second person in one system, and the third in another, provided, of course, that the *e* of the second person and that of the third were indeed originally identical. We may here recall that the Indogermanic as well as the Semitic languages likewise have more than one system of pronominal elements, as may be seen from the forms $\epsilon\gamma\omega$, $-\omega$; $\mu\epsilon$, $-\mu\iota$; $-\nu$, "I," etc., in Greek, and *ta*, *ka*, "thou" in the Semitic languages.

The most characteristic systems, or at least those which differ most from each other, are those found in the infixes and absolute pronouns. As far as the first and second persons of the singular are concerned, the enclitic genitive pronouns (*mu* and *zu*) go with the absolute forms (*mae* and *zae*), while in the third person (*ni*, *bi*) they agree with the infixes (-n-, -b-). As to the enclitic system, finally, we notice an exact correspond-

¹ See Chapter III for the infixed pronominal elements.

ence with the absolute forms in the third person -e, e-ne, but in the first and second they show an entirely independent development, inasmuch as the element en "I," "thou," is found neither in the infixes nor in the absolute forms of the nominative pronoun of the singular. However, it will be seen that this element en is in line not only with the enclitic plural forms -enden "we," -enzen "you," but also with the independent plural forms menden "we," menzen "you;" in fact, there can hardly be any doubt but that the enclitic nominative pronouns men "I" and men "thou" were originally used as independent nominative pronouns and only later were displaced in this capacity by the pronouns mae and zae, which latter, therefore, may be regarded as foreign elements in this system. From the preceding observations we see clearly that the various systems of pronominal elements have by no means developed in entire independence from one another; a very conspicuous trace of an infringement of one system upon the other, furthermore, may be seen in the use of the element z "thou," in the plural forms -enzen, menzen "you," where, as we just saw, the second person is already expressed by the element en. As to the element en in menden see the following paragraph.

It is very interesting to notice, finally, the tendency to level the differences between the first and second persons in the enclitic nominative pronouns, inasmuch as the singular has developed a common form for both while in the plural: -en, men; the form mede "we" seems to have developed to menden under the influence of menzen "you." Whether the form mede may furnish grounds for the assumption that the first person in this system, in correspondence with the system of the infixes, was originally characterized by an ' , that is to say, that mede "we" represents m-e'-d-e' with double (e)' "I," we cannot yet decide with certainty, but it is likely. At least, this would satisfactorily explain why the pronoun of the first person plural occurs as mende and mede in preference to menden, while the form men-zen, on the other hand, is quite constant, the only example of a shorter form menze being

menzer "to you" which evidently is in analogy with mender "to us."

As regards the means of expressing the number, in the second person the plural idea seems to be expressed by repeating the singular element of the second person, the forms *-enzen*, *menzen* containing twice the element *-en* "thou." It seems that the *z*, which, of course, is identical with the *z* in *zae*, etc., serves merely to smooth the pronunciation of *en-en*, though at the same time marking the form expressly as second person in contradistinction to *en-(d)en* "we." The same repetition of the singular element is found in the pronoun of the first person plural *menden* or *mēde*, where *en-en e'-e'* represents double "I." The element *d* would then, exactly as the *z* in *menzen*, be of secondary origin, its original function being simply to overcome the hiatus in *m-e'-e'*, although now at the same time it serves to mark the secondary form *menden* as first person in contradistinction to *menzen* "you." The reading *me(-en)-dé(-en)* instead of *me(-en)-ne(-en)*¹ follows from the forms *mendana*, *mendanam*, etc.; see below.

In *enene*, the pronoun of the third person plural, the plural idea is contained in the element *ene* at the end of the word, instead of which the corresponding singular form *ene* (= *en-e*) "he" shows only an *e*. This plural element *-ene* alone appears as enclitic plural pronoun or plural ending in verbal forms denoting the present and future, and here again it corresponds to *e* in the singular.² As the first *e* of the plural ending *-ene* is evidently the same *e* as that of the singular, namely, the demonstrative element *e* "this" or "he," it seems that here too the plural idea is produced by repeating the singular element, the *n* in *-e-n-e* "they" being then due merely to a desire to avoid the hiatus, as below it will be seen it was likewise the case in the independent singular pronoun *ene* "he."

¹ Thus Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 109; Delitzsch, *Sumerische Grammatik*, p. 24; Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 11, p. 48.

² See the enclitic nominative forms in the table of pronouns, p. 42.

Taking into consideration merely the final aspect of the system of pronominal elements as it has developed in the nominative forms of the enclitic personal pronoun, namely,

1. sg. en	1. pl. ende(n)
2. sg. en	2. pl. enzen
3. sg. e	3. pl. ene,

we may conceive the elements de(n), zen and ne, which the plural forms have in addition to the corresponding singular forms, as special plural elements of the first, second and third persons. That is to say, in the above system of pronominal elements it would appear that the singular en "I" becomes ende(n) "we" by adding a plural element de(n), that en "thou" becomes enzen "you" by adding a plural element zen, and that e "he" becomes ene "they" by adding a plural element ne. That this conception, in fact, obtained, at least to some extent, in the language and played a certain part in the building up of the pronominal and verbal systems, is clearly shown by the fact that the singulars zara "to thee" and za-a "upon thee" form the plurals as za-ra-an-ze-en "to you" and za-a-an-ze-en "upon you" (instead of, and beside, menzenra and menzana); for these forms, as far as their formation is concerned, are entirely parallel with the plural lù-ne-da-me-eš, "with these" (instead of, and beside, lù-ne-me-eš-da), which latter expression is formed from the singular lù-ne-da "with this one," (n)zen as plural ending of the second person thus indeed corresponding to me-eš as plural ending of the third person. For this reason we may assume, although it can not yet be proved from an example, that the imperative, which in the singular uses no element indicative of the second person, forms its plural by adding to the singular form the element zen as plural element of the second person: dimmab "make (thou)," dimmab-zen "make (you)."¹ In the Semitic languages the plurals of the second and third persons are formed by using the same plural elements for both persons; cf. t-umu, h-umu; t-unna, h-unna;

¹ See our remarks on the plural of the imperative in Chapter III.

ta—û, ia—û; ta—(n)â, ia—(n)â, etc.; but they exhibit a similar phenomenon in their having developed different plural elements for the masculine and feminine, namely, û, umu, unu for the former, â or nâ, unna, ina for the latter. An entirely analogous phenomenon, however, may be observed in Latin, as will be seen from the following forms: sg. ama-s, pl. ama-ti-s; sg. ama, pl. ama-te; sg. ama-t, pl. ama-n-t; for here ti, te seems to represent the plural element for the second, n for the third person, a conception which, needless to say, from a purely etymological point of view is of course, exactly as in Sumerian, wrong or, to be more correct, of secondary nature.

In the intransitive-permansive theme the plural of the third person is formed by means of the element -eš. Its meaning is "many"¹ and it denotes therefore, exclusively, the pure plural idea. It will be observed that the corresponding form of the singular has no ending at all, showing that in this case as in the case of the plural the language did not deem it necessary to denote the third person by a pronominal element, whereas this was deemed necessary in the present-future theme, where it is denoted by e "he." The difference between the two kinds of endings for the third persons: —, -eš, on the one hand, and -e, -ene, on the other, finds its exact counterpart in the plural endings for the indefinite and definite states of the noun, lugal-me-eš denoting "kings," lugal-e-ne, "the kings;" it will be observed that in the Sumerian verbal system this difference has been utilized for the distinction of tense and genus verbi, the indefinite form being used for the permansive, the definite for the active present. An entirely parallel case of the absence of a pronominal element indicative of the third person we have in the verbal expressions formed with the identifying elements âm "he is" and âmeš "they are," which, as regards their meaning, stand very near the permansive forms just referred to.

The pure plural element eš is found also in the formative elements of the preterit and the active permansive, and

¹ It is very likely that this plural element eš is identical with the numeral eš "three."

here again we notice that the corresponding singular form has no ending at all. Here, however, this phenomenon is accounted for by the fact that the element indicative of the third person, which in this case is not *e*, but *n*, is infixed, thus being separated from the plural element by the root of the verb; cf., *mu-n-du* "he built" and **mu-n-du-eš* > *munduš* "they built."

As to elements indicative of the case, we find the nominative or subject-*e* in the pronouns *mà-e* "I" and *za-e* "thou," as can be seen by a comparison with the oblique cases of these pronouns: genitive *ma(k)*, *za(k)*; dative *mara*, *zara*, etc. It is likely also that the *e* at the end of *ene* "he" was originally the subject *e*, which, of course, itself again is identical with the demonstrative *e* "this;" in the present state of the pronouns, however, the last *e* of *ene* has become an integral part of the pronoun, so that it is now also found in the oblique cases as, *e. g.*, in the dative form *e-ne-ir* "to him" *ene-r(a)*. The *n* in *e-n-e* then merely serves to overcome the hiatus in *e-e* "this" — "this."

As has been mentioned above, the pronouns *me(n)de(n)* and *menzen* are compounded with the verbal element *m(e)* which means "to be" or, as adjective, "being," and serves to support the enclitic pronominal elements by which it is followed; literally, therefore, *menzen* means "being you," or "you who are," or something similar. This verbal character of the element *me* easily accounts for the interesting fact that, in case these two pronouns are to be connected with certain verbal expressions which contain the element *me* "to be," the *m(e)* in *mende* and *menzen* is utilized for these verbal expressions. While, *e. g.*, the third person plural forms *e-ne-ne in-ga-me-a* "it was they who (did something)," No. 150 Col. 6₄₀, we do not find *menzen ingamea* as we should expect by analogy with the first mentioned form, but the form *in-ga-me-en-ze-en* "it

was you who," Col. 6₃₇, which in fact may be regarded as a regular verbal form of me "to be." Cf. also in-ga-me-en-dé-en, in-ga-me-en-da-nam 6_{34,35}; (n)ì-me-en-de-en-nam and (n)ì-me-en-zi-en-nam beside e-ne-ne (n)ì-me-a, Col. 6₂₀₋₂₃; nam-da-me-en-da-na, nam-da-me-en-za-na "without us," "without you" instead of, and by the side of, me-en-dé-da nam-me(-a) and menzen-da-namme(a), Col. 7_{25-27;20-22}, (n)ì-me-en-da-na "it was upon us that" instead of mendea (mendana) (n)ìmea, Col. 8₁₁, and za-. . . .-(n)ì-me-en-za-na "upon you" instead of za-. . . .-menzana nimea, Col. 8₁₃. It may be mentioned, by the way, that the same phenomenon can be observed in pronominal forms containing the plural ending meš since this element likewise contains the verbal element me, being compounded of m(e) "to be" and eš "many," and thus meaning literally, "being many;" cf. ḫar-meš "they," "these" = plural of ḫar "this," "he," "it," and ḫar-(n)ì-me-eš-ám "it *had been* they who," Col. 6_{23,24}, instead of ḫarmeš (n)ìmeam and beside lù-ù-ne (n)ì-me-ám, Col. 6_{23,24}; ḫar-na-nam-me-eš instead of ḫarmeš nanam and beside lù-ù-ne na-nam, Col. 6_{32,33}; ḫar-an-ga-me-eš instead of ḫarmeš angam, Col. 6₄₂. While the last mentioned forms have a pronounced pronominal character, we meet, however, with a transition to pure verbal forms in compositions of the pronouns and the element inga as may be seen from the following paradigm, for which No. 150 Col. 6₃₅₋₃₉ may be compared

Without am	With am	
ingamen	. . . . .	I <i>had been</i>
ingamen	. . . . .	thou <i>hadst been</i>
angam or ingamea	ingameam	he <i>had been</i>
ingamenden	ingamendanam	we <i>had been</i>
ingamenzen	ingamenzanam	you <i>had been</i>
ingameš	ingamešam	we <i>had been</i>

The enclitic nominative pronouns used in verbal forms and those used for verbal expressions formed by nouns differ from each other in that the latter are compounded with the element me "to be" which is placed before the enclitic pronominal element proper and performs the logical function of express-

ing the identity between noun and pronoun: lugal-me-en "thou (=en) art (=me) king (=lugal)." In the case of a connection of verbal theme and pronoun no such identifying element is required, since the verbal form by itself conveys the idea that the action, etc., which it denotes, is performed by some subject; on the other hand, the adding of the identifying me "to be" between noun and pronominal elements tends to verbalize the noun ("to be king"), though no real verbal form, as characterized by a verbal prefix, is arrived at in this case.

In the third person singular the identifying element (a)m is found without a pronominal element indicating the person, because in Sumerian as well as in other languages logically, or at least in consequence of usage, the person speaking will naturally refer a statement to a single third person, unless the statement is expressly modified so as to refer either to the speaker himself or to the listening person or to more than one person. This element (a)m no doubt is identical with the element m(e) "to be;" the a which precedes the m is evidently of secondary origin as is clearly seen from the fact that in certain connections, as, *e. g.*, in mu-bi-im "its name is," the m occurs without the a. In correspondence with the fact that the third person singular does not use an element indicative of the person, the plural of this theme is formed by adding to the element (a)m the simple plural element eš "many;" cf. lugal-am-eš "they are kings."

By the way, it may be noted that me-en "I am," "thou art" is written me-en usually only in Sumerian texts of a comparatively late period, namely, the time of the kingdoms of Isin and Babylon, while in the older inscriptions from Telloh it is written with the sign ME, but nevertheless has to be read mén, not me, as hitherto it has usually been read, because the Sumero-Akkadian vocabularies expressly state that ME in the meaning of anâku and atta has the value men. It may be mentioned in this connection that likewise there has never been a plural ending me despite the fact that in older Sumerian texts and even in the Nippur texts from the time of the first dynasty the sign ME is used to denote the indefinite plural

ending; for the vocabularies expressly state that in the meaning of *ma'adûti* "many," *i. e.*, as plural ending, ME has to be pronounced *měš*, which, as has been mentioned above, is etymologically a composition of *m(e)* "being" and *eš* "many." In dialectical texts *-men*, "I am," "thou art," may even be written with the sign DU, since this sign in the *eme-SAL* dialect has the values *mín* and *mèn* instead of the *eme-KU* value *gin*.

Of morphological changes in the form of the pronouns caused by the influence of grammatical elements, with which they are compounded, as yet only the following can be observed.

(a) Owing to the tendency of vowel harmony, the pronouns *menden* and *menzen* change their second *e* to a when followed by an element beginning with the vowel *a*; cf. *me-en-da-nam* (= *menden* + *am*), Col. 6₁₁; *in-ga-me-en-da-nam*, 6₃₆; *nam-da-me-en-da-na*, 7₂₁; *šub-ba-me-en-da-nam*, 7₄₄; (n)*ì-me-en-da-na*, 8₁₁; *me-en-za-nam* (= *menzen* + *am*), Col. 6₁₃; *in-ga-me-en-za-nam* 6₃₈; *nam-da-me-en-za-na*, 7₂₃; *šub-ba-me-en-za-nam*, 7₄₅; *za-...-ni-me-en-za-na*, 8₁₃.

(b) The initial *e* of the enclitic pronouns (or endings) coalesces with a preceding vowel: (n)*ì-zu-un-dé-en* (<(n)*ì-zu-enden*) "we know," 2 R 16 Rev. 1_{37,41}; *nu-um-mà-mà-a* (<*num-mama-e-a*) "that he will not make" and *nu-um-mà-mà-ne-a* (<*num-mama-ene-a*) "that they will not make" in contracts. Cf. also the forms *za-ra-an-ši-en* "to you" and *za-a-an-ši-en* "upon you." The list of grammatical forms JRAS XVII, p. 65 + CT 19, 28 (5423) indicates this rule by giving for the 2. pl. the variants *-un-ši-en*, *-an-ši-en*, *-in-ši-en*, *-en-ši-en*, and for the 1. pl. *-un-dé*, *-an-dé*, *-[in]-dé*, *-[en]-dé*. Cf. the corresponding rule in Chapter I, p. 14, 2(a).

(c) Concerning the dropping of the *a* at the beginning of the pronouns *ani* "his" and *anene* "their," when following a noun or complex of words ending with a vowel, see Chapter I, p. 15, 2 (c).

(d) Concerning the dropping of the vowels *u* and *i* at the end of the pronouns *mu* "my," *zu* "thy," *ani* "his," *bi* "its," "their," "the," when preceding an element beginning with the vowel *a*, see Chapter I, p. 15, 2 (b) and (c).

III

THE SUMERIAN VERB

THE SUMERIAN VERB

TRANSCRIPTIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

No. 142

Obverse missing. Rev. Col. 1 contains chiefly Sumerian phrases compounded with še "grain."

Rev. Column 2

The beginning of the column is missing. Lines 1-3 are only partially preserved.

	dím-ma-ab	e-bu-uš	make
5'	ga-ab-dím	lu-bu-uš	let me make
	ab-dím-me-en	e-pi-eš	I make, I shall make
	nu-ub-dím-me-en	u-la e-pi-eš	I do not make
	ḫe-ib-dím-e	li-bu-uš	may he make
	na-ab-dím-e	la i-pi-eš	may he not make
10'	ga-mu-ra-ab-dím	lu-bu-ša-ku-um ¹	let me make for thee
	ḫe(-ib) ² -dím-e-ne	li-bu-šu	may they make
	na-ab-dím-e-ne	la i-pi-šu	may they not make
	na-an[-na-]ab-dím-e	la(ni-) ³ ip-pi-su-um	may he not make for him
	dím-m[a]-na-ab	e-bu-su-um	make for him
15'	ga-an-na-ab-dím	lu-bu-su-um	let me make for him
	ḫe-en-na-ab-dím-e	li-bu-su-um	may he make for him
	ḫe-en-na-ab-dím-e-ne	li-bu-šu-šum	may they make for him
	na-an-na-ab-dím-e-ne	la i-pi-šu-šum	may they not make for him
	mu-ub-dím-e	i-bu ⁴ -ša-am	he makes for me

¹ For the a before kum cf. u-la e-te-ḫi-a-kum (likewise first person), AO 54036 (see below); it is evidently the dative suffix of the first person in the meaning of a dative ethicus.

² Omitted by scribe.

³ Mistake of the scribe.

⁴ Mistake for pi! Emend i-pi-ša-am. Is mu-ub-dim-e mistake for ma-ab-dim-e or a variant? See mu-un-gă, column 320.

20'	nu-(mu-) ¹ ub-dím-e	u-la i-bu ² -ša-am	he does not make for me
	ḥa-ma-ab-dím-e	li-bu-ša-am	may he make for me
	zu-zu-ma-ab	ši-i-ip	add
	ga-ab-zu-zu-mu ³	lu-ši-i-ip	let me add, I will add
	[a]b-zu-zu-me-en	a-na-ku u-za-ap	I add, I shall add
25'	ab-zu-zu-e ⁴	šu-u u-za-ap	he adds, he shall add

Lines 26–28 are only partially preserved. The rest of the column is missing.

Column 3

The beginning of the column is missing.



	al-ḥúl-ḥúl[l ⁵ -en]	[u-bu-da]-a-ku	I am <i>lost</i>
	nu-ḥúl-ḥúl[-en]	[u-l]a u-bu-da-a-ku	I am not <i>lost</i>
	ga-ḥúl-ḥ[úl]	li ⁶ -te-bi-id	may I be <i>lost</i>
	al-ḥúl-ḥúl-e-ne	u-te-bi-du	they are <i>lost</i>
5'	nu-ḥúl-ḥúl-e-ne	u-la u-te-bi-du	they are not <i>lost</i>
	ḥe-ḥa-ḥa-e-ne	li-te-bi-du	may they be <i>lost</i>
	na-an-ḥa-ḥa-e-ne	la u-te-bi-du	may they not be <i>lost</i>
	nam-mu-un-ḥa-ḥa-en	la tu-te-bi-da-an-ni	mayest thou not be <i>lost</i> to me
	al-gă _{ga-ga} gă(r)-ra?	nu-bu-úḥ	it is kindled ⁷
10'	nu-gă-gă	u-la nu-bu-úḥ	it is not kindled
	ḥe-gă-gă	li-na-pi-iḥ	may it be kindled
	na-an-gă-gă	la i-na-pi-iḥ	may it not be kindled
	al-zi-in-zi-im	nu-du-úḥ ⁸	he is .....ed
	nu-zi-in-zi-im	u-la nu-du-úḥ ⁸	he is not .....ed
15'	al-zi-in-zi-im-me-en	nu-du-pa-a-ku	I am .....ed
	al-gú?-gú?	bu-zu-ul	he is .....ed


¹ Omitted by mistake.

² Mistake for pi! Emend i-pi-ša-am. Is mu-ub-dim-e mistake for ma-ab-dím-e or a variant? See mu-un-gă, column 320.

³ One would expect ga-ab-zu-zu.

⁴ Sic? One would expect ab-zu-zu-me or ab-zu-zu-mu; is perhaps to be read ab-zu-zu^m-e?

⁵ Wrong sign! The pupil should have used the sign  ḥul or better  gul;

 ḥul means to rejoice.

⁶ Mistake for lu.

⁷ Cf. perhaps kár-kár = itanpuḥu.

⁸ Mistake for nu-du-up under the influence of nu-bu-úḥ l. 9; cf. nu-du-pa-a-ku in l. 15 and zi-in-zi-in | nu-ut-tu-bu RA 10, p. 81, Col. 321. The root is nṭp.

al- . . .	zu-gu-ud	he ised
šu-an-PI(?)	ga-ta-am pi-te	he is open-handed
šu-ni al-gid ^{ge1}	ga-ta-šu za-an-bi-la	his hands are ²
20' sag-túm-ma mu-un-gă	ma-gi-ir-tam|	he spoke favorably
	ik-bi-a-am	to me
sag-túm-ma i-ni-in-gă	ma-gi-ir-tam|	I spoke favorably
	ak ³ -bi-šum	to him
ZĪB ⁴	e-bi-ir-tum	. . . . .
un-na ZĪB-a	u-ba-ra-...[. . . . .]	. . . . .
	e-bi- . .	. . . . .

The rest of the column is missing.

Column 4

The beginning of the column is missing. Line 1 partially broken.

.	lu-ru-um	. . . . .
U-AZ?	zu-uk-ku-ku-um	closed, obstructed; deaf.
sag-si-sá ħe-â-e	li-še-ir ⁵	may he prosper
5' sag-si-sá | na-an-â-e	a i-še-ir	may he not prosper
sag-si-sá-â ⁶	lu i-ša-ra-a-ti	mayest thou be prosperous
sag-si-sá na-an-na-	la te-še-ir	mayest thou prosper
â-en ⁷		
10' sag-si-sá al-â-e	i-še-ir	he is prosperous
sag-si-sá nu-â-e	u-la i-še-ir	he is not prosperous
mu-ti-ti ⁸	u-ri-še-an-ni	he me ⁹
nu-mu-ti-ti ⁸	u-la u-ri[-še-an-ni]	he does not me

¹ Or is gid+ge(?) one sign?

² Cf. zabbilu Del. HW 250 b.

³ Mistake for ik?

⁴ Cf. 2R 6272e

bal	e-bi-rum
ZĪB-zi-lá	" šá u-suk-ki
ZĪB-dū-ga	" šá "
bal-RI	e-bir-ti nâri

⁵ Or še? Written over erasure.

⁶ Sic?

⁷ Sic? One should expect na-an-â-e.

⁸ Sic?

⁹ Cf. te-te = ruššû, ZA IX p. 159 ff. (SAI 5707)

	an-ni-ib-ti-ti	u-ri-ši[-šu]	he him
15'	nu-un-ni-ib-ti-ti	u-la[u-ri-ši-šu]	he does not
		him	
	he-ni-ib-ti-ti	li[-ri-ši-šu]	may he him
	[na-an-ni-ib-ti-ti	. . . .] . . . -ri-še ² -šu	may he not him
	[ti-ti-an-ni-ib	r]u-uš-ši-šu	. . . . . him
	[. . . . .	. . . .]-ri-še-a-ni	. . . . . me
20'	[.] . . .	u-ki-da-an-ni	he me
	[.]-DU ¹		
	[. . . .]KA+? an-tū(ku) ²	zu-ur-ra-am i-šu	he has
	[. . . .]KA+? a-tū(ku)	zu-ur-ra-am	I have
		|a-na-ku i-šu	
25'	[.	zu-ur-r]a-am u-la	I have not
		[a-na-ku i-š]u	. . . . .

The rest of the column is missing. Only a few signs of Column 5 are left.

No. 150

Column 1

	zi-ga	ti-bi	proceed
	ga-zi	lu-ut-bi	let me proceed
	(n)i-zi-gi-en	e-it-bi	I proceeded
	nu-zi-gi-en	u-ul e-it-bi	I did not proceed
5	(n)i-zi-gi-en	te-it-bi	thou proceededst
	nu-zi-gi-en	u-ul te-it-bi	thou didst not proceed
	[(n)i]-zi	it-bi	he proceeded
	[nu]-zi	u-ul it-bi	he did not proceed
	[ba-zi]-gi-en	e-te-it-bi ³	I proceeded
10	[. . . .]zi]-gi-en	u-ul e-te-it-bi ³	I did not proceed
	[ba-zi-g]i-en	te-it-te-bi	thou proceededst

The rest of the column is missing.

¹ Cf. HAR-KU?-DU = ḥababa-tum, mu-ra-aš-šu-u, ki-tum, mu-bat-ti-tum 2 R 35, 21-4'.

² Cf. 2 R 32, 58''-60''

eme- ^{ku-ku} kú-kú	a-kil kar-š[i]
eme- ^{e-me-tu-ku} tuku	ŠU(=emetuku)-u
eme-'' tuku	mu-ra-šu-u

5

³ Mistake for e-it-te-bi.

Column 2

zi-ba ¹ -ab	su-ut[-bi]	cause to proceed
ga-ab-zi	lu-ši-i[t-bi]	may I (I will) cause to proceed
zi-ga-an	šu-ut[-bi]	cause to proceed
ga-an-zi	lu-ši[-it-bi]	may I (I will) cause to proceed

The rest of the column is missing.

Column 3

The beginning of the column is missing.

sá-ba[-a-dū	ak-ta-ša-ad]	I arrived
sá-la-ba-a-d[ū	ul ak-ta-ša-ad]	I did not arrive
sá-ba-e-dū	ta-ak-ta-ša-ad]	thou arrivedst
5' sá-la-ba-e-dū	ul ta-ak-ta-ša-ad]	thou didst not arrive
sá-ab-bi-e-ne	i-ka-aš[-ša-du]	they catch, equal
sá-nu-ub-bi-e-ne	u-ul i-k[a-aš-ša-du]	they do not catch, equal
sá-ba-an-ne-eš	ik-ka-aš[-du]	they have been caught
sa-nu-ne-eš	u-ul ik-[ka-aš-du]	they have not been caught, equaled

Column 4

The beginning of the column is missing.

[.....]....
[.....]	i-ka-aš-ša-dam	he equals me
[.....]	u-ul i-ka-aš-ša-dam	he does not equal me
sá?-ab-dū	ši-id-ka? ²	.....

¹ Mistake of the pupil for zi-ga-ab.

² Perhaps mistake for ka-ši-id "he is caught"?

No. 136

Column 2

Lines 1-3 only partially preserved.

	.....-ab	[.....]	.....
5	ab-da-dû-dû	[.....]	.....
	ab-da-[.....]	[.....]	.....
	.....-na-ab	[.....]	.....
	a-[.....]-ga-ab	..[.....]	.....
	[.....]-.....-ab	.....[.....]	.....
10	.....-na-ab	bu-ri-[i]m	.....
	sî-sî-ga-ab	bu-ri[-..]	.....
	bâr-bâr-ra-ab	bu-uz-z[i]	whiten!
	zâl-zâl-ga-al	ub-bi-i[b]	cleanse!
	[š]u-tag-ga-ab	zu-uḥ-ḥi-in	adorn!
15	[.....]-tag-ga-ab	....-gi-i-šu	.....him!
	[.....]-má? šù-a ¹ -ab	ku-ti-im	cover! overthrow!
	[.....]-a-ab-ta	ḥu-mi-iṣ	.....
	[.....]-a-ab-ta	bu-ri-iṣ	.....
	[.....]-a-ab-ta	[.....]-e-ni	.....
20	[.....]-â	.....	.....
	[.....]-â	li?-.....pi?-te?	.....

Rest of the column is missing.

AO. 5403.²

	te-a-na	te-ḥi-šum	go to him
	in-na-te-e-en	[te-iṭ-ḥ]i-šu-u[m]	thou hast gone to him
	in-na-te-en	e-it-ḥi-šum	I have gone to him
	na-an-na-te-mà-dé-en	la te-ṭe-ḥ[i-š]um	do not go to him
5	nam-ma-te-mà-dé-en	la ta-ṭe-ḥi-a-am	do not come to me
	nu-mu-ra-te-mà-dé-en	u-la e-ṭe-ḥi-a-kum	I do (shall) not go to thee

¹ Between a and ab an â(g) has been erased.² Published by Thureau-Dangin in RA 1914, p. 43.

	ba-an-na-te	i-ṭe-ḫi-šum	he went to him
	ba-an-na-te-en	e-ṭe-ḫi-šum	I went to him
	in-na-te-e-en	te-iṭ-ḫi-šum	thou hast gone to him
10	in-da-má-e-en	ta-ša-[k]a-aš-(šu)-um	thou shalt place upon him
	gub-ba	i-zi-iz	stand
	ga-gub	lu-zi-iz	let me stand
	ḫe-gub	li-zi-iz	may he stand
	al-gub	i-za-az	he stands
15	al-gub-bi-en	a-za-az	I stand
	nu-gub	u-la i-za-az	he does not stand

JRAS XVII, p. 65¹ + duplicate CT 19, 28a.²

Column 1

	e-še	mi-i	ki-ta	<i>of course</i>	suffix
	giš-en	ma-an	ki-ta	<i>is it not</i>	suffix
15	nu-uš	lu-ma-an	an-ta	.....	prefix
		u-ul	an-ta	not;	prefix
	nu-ub-da	a-di-ni	an-ta	.....	prefix
		la-ma-an	an-ta	.....	prefix
	nu-me-a	ša la	ki-ta	without;	suffix
20	na-an-na	ba-lum	ki-ta	without;	suffix
	na-an-na	e-la	ki-ta	beside;	suffix
	û-da	šum-ma	ki-ta ³	when (if)	suffix ³
	û-ta	ap-pi-uš	an-ta	.....	prefix
		a-na i-ra-at		.....
25		al-la-ḫu		.....
		i-na ga-bal		.....
		iš-tu û-um		since the time when	
		i-nu-ma		when, after	

¹ Bertin, Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns; plates I and II.

² K 5423.

³ Sic.

	ge-eš	aš-šum	ki-ta	because;	suffix
30	ka-nam	aš-šum	ki-ta	because;	suffix
	mu	aš-šum	an-ta	because;	suffix
	ta	iš-tu	ki-ta	from; since;	suffix
		i-na-a-na-a		.....
		i-na ša-a		while	
35		in-na-nu		.....
		ga-du		together with	
	un-ga	ab-bu-na!	an-ta ki-ta	.....	prefix and suffix
	a ¹ -ga	ù šu-u		in as much as he	
	in-ga	ma-a		it is (was)....	that
40	en-ga				
	en-na	a-di	an-ta	til (to);	prefix
	ga	lu-u	an-ta	may;	prefix
	ḫu				
	ḫa				
45	ḫe				
	[ḫi]?				

Rest of Column 1 is missing.

Column 2

	[.....		
	mu		
	um	a-na ia-a'-nu [ ]	.....
	ám		
5	im		
	mi		
	um-ta		
	ám-ta	”	”
	im-ta		
10	mu-ta		

¹ Mistake for an?

	um	ga-mar-tu [	]	.....
	ám			
	im			
	un	šu-u šá e-li-t[.....]		he, of the.....
15	an	ù šu-uš-mur-ti e-li-ti ¹		and the.....
	in	an-ta ki-ta		prefix and suffix
	en			
	ab			
	ub	šu-u šá šu-uš-mur-ti[....]		he, of the.....
20	ab			
	íb			
	ib			
	un	a-na-ku	"	I, of the.....
	an	a-na-ku ia-ti šá[.....]		I, me, of the.....
25	in			
	en			
	un	at-ta ka-a-ti[	]	thou, thee
	an	ša ... -li-ti		of the.....
	in			
30	en			
	ù	an-niš		please
	a			
	i			
	e			
35	ù	šu-u ša ri-?..[.....]		he, of.....
	a	an-ta muru[-ta]		prefix and infix
	i			
	e			
	ù	šu-a-ti		him
40	a			
	i			
	e			

¹ Elitu and šušmurtu evidently denote grammatical expressions relating to tense and genus verbi.

ù
 a
 50 i
 [e]

a-na-ku ù[.....] I and

Column 3

Beginning of the column, about seven lines, missing.

	me	ni-nu [	]	we
	mu-un			
10	me-en-dé-en			
	un-dé-en			
	an-dé-en			
	in-dé-en			
	en-dé-en			
15	me-a	ni-ia-ti	an-ta muru-ta	us; prefix and
	me-šù	a-na ni-ia-šim		infix to us;
	me-da	an-ta muru-ta		prefix and
	me-ta			infix
	me-a			
20	me-da	ni-li-i		we can (we are able)
	me-da	it-ti-ni		it is in our power
	mu	ia-ú-um ki-ta		mine suffix
	gá(or mǎ) ¹	a-na ni-a-šim		to us
	gá(or mǎ)-ra	a-na ni-a-šim		to us
25	gá(or mǎ)-da	it-ti-ni		with us
	(íb-) ^{e2}	at-ta ka-šam muru-ta		thou, (to) thee; ² infix

¹ Sign gagunû instead of the usual gá, mǎ. Cf. also VAT 7434c (Delitzsch, Sumerisch-Akkadische-hettitische Vocabularfragmente, p. 17).

⁷ gá-e-da-nu-me-en ga-e-da-nu-mi-in [i-na ba-li-ia]

⁸ za-e-da-nu-me-en za-e-da-nu-mi-en [i-na ba-lu-ka]

and VAT 7478 (*ibid.* p. 19) Col. 115-17: á-ág-gá=te-ir-tum, etc., instead of the usual á-ág-gá.

Does perhaps the writing with the gunû-sign indicate that the scribe prefers the pronunciation ga to the pronunciation ma, or is this writing simply a peculiarity of certain schools? Note that at Boghazkeni the use of the sign gagunû (with the pronunciation ga) was quite common.

² I. e., the infix -e- as subject of a verbal form=atta "thou," and governing element of an in fixed dimensional complex. Íb is evidently a mistake (originally a variant of e: b="thou" in the b-conjugation, i. e., (i)b without a subject element.

	e-šù	a-na ka-a-ši	to thee
	e-da		
	e-ta		
30	e-ra		
	e-da ¹	te-l _i i ¹ _i	thou canst (art able)
	e-da	it-t _i i ¹ _i ka]	it is in thy power
	e-ne	ku-nu ¹ ]	.....²
	e-ne-a	ku-nu- _i ma _i?	.....²
35	me-en ³ -ze-en	at-tu-nu k[i-ta]	you; suffix
	un-ze-en		
	an-ze-en		
	in-ze-en		
	en-ze-en		
40	ub-ze-en		
	ab-ze-en		
	ib-ze-en		
	eb-ze-en ⁴		
	zu	ku-[um-mu] . . . ki-ta]. . .	thine . . . suffix
(15)	a	a-na[ . . . . . ]	.....
	ni	[.]	<i>his</i>
	ni	šu-[ . . . . . ]	.....
	ni(-na) ⁵ -a	a-na š[u-a-ti	to (upon) him
	na	[ . . . . . ]	.....
(20)	ši		
	bi	šu-[u]	he(?)
	bi-a	a-na šu-a-[	to (upon) him
	ba		

¹ First line of K 5423. The following dividing lines are only on K 5423.

² Have we to restore:

e-ne	ku-nu[-ti]	you
e-ne-a	ku-nu-šu	to you?

³ En is omitted in Bertin's tablet.

⁴ Last line of Col. 3.

⁵ Na evidently mistake; read ni-a, of which the following na is the contracted form.

	e-ne	šu-[nu ki-ta]	they,	suffix
(25)	e-ne-ne			
	(n)ì-ne-ne			
	un-NE			
	an-NE			
	in-NE			
(30)	en-NE			
	[.....].	[.....]		

Column 4

The beginning of the column is missing.

	un-ne-da	[.....]	.....
	an-ne-da		
	in-ne-da		
	en-ne-da		
5	un-ne-da	„[.....]	„.....
	an-ne-da		
	in-ne-da		
	en-ne-da		
	un-ne-a	„šu-nu-ti	„them
10	an-ne-a		
	in-ne-a		
	en-ne-a		
	bí	a-na-(ku-)šu-a-ti	I it (or him)
	bi-i	„	I it (or him)
15	bi-NE	at-ta šu-a-ti	thou it
	bí-e	„	thou it
	bi-in	šu-u šu-a-ti	he it
	(bí-) ¹ in	„	he it
	ba-a	a-na-ku šu-a-ti (-ti) ²	I it

¹ Omitted by the scribe (or in the copy?).

² Did the scribe intend to write a-na-ku šu-a-ti šu-a-ti?

20	ba-e	at-ta-ku šu-a-ti (-ti)	thou it
	ba-an	šu-u „	he it
	i-ni-ì	a-na-ku šu-a-ti šu-a-ti	I it (or him) it
	mi-ni-ì	„	I it (or him) it
	i-ni-e	at-ta šu-a-ti šu-a-ti	thou it it
25	mi-ni-e	„	thou it it
	i-ni-in	šu-u šu-a-ti šu-a-ti	he it it
	mi-ni-in	„	he it it
	ba-ni-ì	a-na-ku šu-a-ti šu-a-ti	I it it
	ba-ni-e		(thou it it)
30	ba-ni-in		(he it it)
	in-na-ni-ì	a-na-ku šu-a-ti šu-a-ti	I him it
		ù a-na-ku šu-a-šum	and I to him (it)
	in-na-ni-e	: ti	(thou it him, etc.)
	in-na-ni-in		(he it him, etc.)
35	[.....]-ì	a-na-ku šu-a-ti šu-a-ti	I it (or him) it
	[.....]-e	a-na(-ku)-šu-a-šum ú ga-mar-	I! to him and ...
	[.....]-in	tum	
<hr/>		<hr/>	
	[]	al-ka	go ¹
<hr/>		<hr/>	

¹ Catch line of the following tablet of the series.

PARADIGMS OF SUMERIAN

ACTIVE

PRESENT—FUTURE

Simple Conjugation

Without infixes

Indicative		Precative
(a) positive		(a) positive
1. sg.	(n)ila'en	nula'en
2. "	(n)ila'en	hela'en
3. "	(n)ila'e	hela'e
1. pl.	(n)ila'enden	nula'enden
2. "	(n)ila'enzen	hela'enzen
3. "	(n)ila'ene	hela'ene
	I (shall) pay	I do (shall) not pay mayest thou pay

With infixes

na "to him"		
3. sg.	i(n)nala'e	numunala'e
	he will (shall) pay to him	he will not pay to him
ne "to them"		
"	innela'e	numunela'e
	he will pay to them	he will not pay to them
(m)'a "to me"		
"	mala'e	numala'e
	he will pay to me	he will not pay to me
(mu)ra "to thee"		
"	murala'e ¹	numurala'e
	he will pay to thee	he will not pay to thee

¹ And marala'e.

VERBAL FORMS

ACTIVE

PRESENT—FUTURE

Simple Conjugation

Without infixes

Precative (b) negative	Cohortative	Imperative and Infinitive
— nala'en nala'e	gala	la'a
— nala'enzen nala'ene mayest thou not pay	let me pay	pay

With infixes

na "to him"

na(n)nala'e may he not pay to him	ga(n)nala let me pay to him	la'ana, unasi pay (give) to him
---	--------------------------------	------------------------------------

ne "to them"

na(n)nela'e may he not pay to them	ga(n)nela let me pay to them	la'ane, unesi pay (give) to them
--	---------------------------------	-------------------------------------

(m)'a "to me"

na(m)malae may he not pay to me	—	la'ma? pay to me
---------------------------------------	---	---------------------

(mu)ra "to thee"

na(m)murala'e may he not pay to thee	gamurala let me pay to thee	—
--	--------------------------------	---

nši "to him"

3. sg.	inšila'e he will pay for him	nu(mu)nšila'e he will not pay for him	ḥenšila'e may he pay for him
--------	---------------------------------	---	---------------------------------

(mu)'ši "for me"

"	mušila'e he will pay for me	numušila'e he will not pay for me	ḥumušila'e may he pay for me
---	--------------------------------	---	---------------------------------

(mu)eši "for thee"

"	muešila'e he will pay for thee	numuešila'e he will not pay for thee	ḥumuešilae may he pay for thee
---	-----------------------------------	--	--------------------------------------

ni "upon"

"	i(n)nila'e he will pay upon it	numunila'e he will not pay upon it	ḥe(n)nila'e may he pay upon it
---	-----------------------------------	--	-----------------------------------

na "to him" + ni "upon it"

"	i(n)nanila'e he will pay to him upon it	numunanila'e he will not pay to him upon it	ḥe(n)nanila'e may he pay to him upon it
---	---	---	---

(b)ta "from (it)"

"	ibtala'e he will pay from it	nu(b)tala'e he will not pay from it	ḥe(b)tala'e may he pay from it
---	---------------------------------	---	--------------------------------------

na "to him" + (b)ta "from (it)"

"	i(n)na(b)tala'e he will pay to him from it	numuna(b)tala'e he will not pay to him from it	ḥe(n)na(b)tala'e may he pay to him from it
---	--	--	--

(b)da "with it"

"	ibdala'e he will pay (to- gether) with it	nu(b)dala'e he will not pay (to- gether) with it	ḥe(b)dala'e may he pay (to- gether) with it
---	---	--	---

nši "to him"

našila'e	ganšila	la'anši
may he not pay for him	let me pay for him	pay for him

(mu)'ši "for me"

na(m)mušila'e	—	la'muši
may he not pay for me		pay for me

(mu)eši "for thee"

na(m)muešila'e	gamuešila	—
may he not pay for thee	let me pay for thee	

ni "upon"

na(n)nila'e	ganila	la'ani
may he not pay upon it	let me pay upon it	pay upon it

na "to him" + ni "upon it"

nannanila'e	ga(n)nanila	la'a(n)nani
may he not pay to him upon it	let me pay to him upon it	pay to him upon it

(b)ta "from (it)"

na(b)tala'e	ga(b)tala	la'abta
may he not pay from it	let me pay from it	pay from it

na "to him" + (b)ta "from (it)"

na(n)na(b)tala'e	ga(n)na(b)tala'e	la'a(n)nabta
may he not pay to him from it	let me pay to him from it	pay to him from it

(b)da "with it"

na(b)dala'e	ga(b)dala	la'abda
may he not pay (together) with it	let me pay (together) with it	pay (together) with it

		(mu)eda "with thee"	
3. sg.	muedala'e	numuedala'e	humuedala'e
	he will pay (to- gether) with thee	he will not pay (to- gether) with thee	may he pay to- gether with thee

b-Conjugation

Without infixes

	Indicative		Precative
	(a) positive	(b) negative	(a) positive
1. sg.	abdim(m)en	nubdim(m)en	—
2. "	abdim(m)en	nubdim(m)en	hebdim(m)en
3. "	abdime	nubdime	hebtime
1. pl.	abdim(m)ende(n)	nubdim(m)ende(n)	—
2. "	abdim(m)enzen	nubdim(m)enzen	hebdim(m)enzen
3. "	abdimene I make, etc.	nubdimene I do not make, etc.	hebtime mayest thou make, etc.

With infixes

		na "for him" (dative)	
3. sg.	a(n)nabdime, i(n)nabdime	numunabdime	he(n)nabdime
		ne "for them" (dative)	
"	a(n)nebdime, i(n)nebdime	numunebdime	he(n)nebdime
		(m)'a "to me"	
"	mabdime ¹	numabdime ²	hamabdime
		(mu)ra "for you" (dative)	
"	murabdime	numurabdime	ha(mu)rabtime .

¹ And mubtime?² And numubtime?

(mu)eda "with thee"

na(m)muedala'e	gamuedala	—
may he not pay	let me pay together	
(together) with	with thee	
thee		

b-Conjugation

Without infixes

Precative		Imperative and
(b) negative		Infinitive
—	gabdim	—
nabdim(m)en	—	dim(m)ab
nabdimene	—	—
—		—
nabdim(m)enzen		dimmabzen
nabdimene		—
mayest thou not make, let me make		make
etc.		

With infixes

	na "for him" (dative)	
na(n)nabdime	ga(n)nabdim	dim(m)anab

	ne "for them" (dative)	
na(n)nebdime	ga(n)nebdim	dim(m)aneb

	(m)'a "to me"	
na(m)mabdimṣ	—	dim'mab

	(mu)ra "for you" (dative)	
na(m)murabdime	gamurabdim	—

		nši "to him," "to them"	
3. sg.	anšibdime	numunšibdime	ḥenšibdime
		(mu)'ši "to me"	
"	mušibdime	numušibdime	ḥumušibdime
		(mu)eši "to thee"	
"	muešibdime	numuešibdime	ḥumuešibdime
		na+ni "to him, upon ..."	
"	i(n)nanibdime	numunanibdime	ḥe(n)nanibdime
		ni "upon"	
"	a(n)nibdime	numu(n)nibdime	ḥe(n)nibdime
		(b)ta "from (it)"	
"	ibtabdime	nutabdime	ḥe(b)tabdime
		(b)da "with (it)"	
"	ibdabdime	nudabdime	ḥe(b)dabdime

n-Conjugation

Without infixes

	Indicative		Optative
	(a) positive	(b) negative	(a) positive
2. sg.	anzigen	nunzigen	ḥenzigen
3. "	anzige	nunzgie	ḥenzige
	I shall cause to march	I shall not cause to march	mayest thou cause to march

With infixes

		na "to him"	
3. sg.	i(n)nanzigi	numunanzigi	ḥe(n)nanzigi
		ma "to me"	
"	manzigi	numanzigi	ḥamanzigi

	nši "to him" "to them"	
nanšibdime	ganšibdim	dim(m)anšib
	(mu)'ši "to me"	
na(m)mušibdime	—	dim'mušib
	(mu)eši "to thee"	
na(m)muešibdime	gamuešibdim	—
	na+ni "to him, upon . . ."	
na(n)nanibdime	ga(n)nanibdim	dim(m)ana(n)nib?
	ni "upon"	
na(n)nibdime	ga(n)nibdim	dim(m)anib
	(b)ta "from (it)"	
na(b)tabdime	ga(b)tabdim	dimmabtab
	(b)da "with (it)"	
na(b)dabdime	ga(b)dabdim	dimmabdab

n-Conjugation

Without infixes

Optative		Imperative
(b) negative	(c) 1. sgl.	
nanzigen	ganzi	zigan
nanzigi	—	—
mayest thou not cause to march	may I cause to march	cause to march

With infixes

	na "to him"	
na(n)nanzigi	ga(n)nanzi	ziga(n)nan
	ma "to me"	
na(m)manzigi	—	ziman

PRETERIT

Simple Conjugation

Without infixes

Perfect

	(a) simple	(b) emphatic
1. sgl.	idim	ḥedim
2. “	edim	ḥedim
3. “	indim	ḥendim
3. coll.	ibdim	
1. pl.	——	——
2. “	——	——
3. “	indimeš	ḥendimeš
	I have made	Indeed, I have made

With infixes

na “to him”

1. sgl.	innadim	ḥennadim
3. “	i(n)nandim	ḥe(n)nandim

ne “to them”

1. sgl.		
3. “	i(n)nendim	ḥe(n)nendim

(m)a “to me”

3. sgl.	mandim	ḥamandim
---------	--------	----------

(mu(ra, (ma)ra “to thee”

1. sgl.	maradim, muradim	ḥumuradim
3. sgl.	marandim, murandim	ḥumurandim

ni “upon (him)”

1. sgl.		
3. “	i(n)nindim	ḥe(n)nindim

PRETERIT

Simple Conjugation

Without infixes

Historical Tense

Negative
Preterit

(a) simple

(b) emphatic

mudim
muedim
mundim

ḥumudim, umudim
ḥumuedim
ḥumundim

nudim baradim
nuedim baraedim
nundim barandim

mundimeš
I made

ḥumundimeš
Indeed, I made

nundimeš barandimeš
I have not made, I
did not make

With infixes
na "to him"

munadim
munandim

ḥumunadim
ḥumunandim

numunadim
numunandim

ne "to them"

munedim
munendim

ḥumuneidim
ḥumunendim

numunedim
numunendim

(m)a "to me"

mandim

ḥamandim

numandim

(ma)ra "to thee"

muradim
murandim

ḥumuradim
ḥumurandim

numuradim
numurandim

ni "upon (him)"

munidim, minidim
munindim, minindim

ḥumunidim
ḥumunindim

numunidim
numunindim

nši "to him"

1. sgl.	inšidim	henšidim
3. "	inšindim	henšindim

(mu)ši "to me"

3. sgl.	mušindim	ḥumušindim
---------	----------	------------

(mu)eši "to thee"

1. sgl.	muešidim	ḥumuešidim
3. "	muešindim	ḥumuešindim

(b)ta "from (it)"

3. sgl.	ibtandim	ḥe(b)tandim
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PERMANSIVE

Simple Conjugation

Indicative

	(a) positive	(b) negative
1. sgl.	atum	nutum
2. "	etum	nuetum
3. "	antum	nuntum
1. pl.	—	—
2. pl.	—	—
3. pl.	antumuš	nuntumuš
	I am bringing	I am not bringing

VERBAL ADJECTIVE

Participle

dim(me)	making, having made
simu	giving, having given

nši "to him"

munšidim
munšindimḥumunšidim
ḥumunšindim

nunšindim

(mu)ši "to me"

mušindim

ḥumušindim

numušindim

(mu)eši "to you"

muešidim
muešindimḥumuešidim
ḥumuešindimnumuešidim
numuešindim

(b)ta "from (it)"

mutandim

ḥumutandim

nu(b)tandim

PERMANSIVE

Simple Conjugation

Precative

(a) positive

gatum
ḥetum
ḥentum

(b) negative

naetum
nantumḥentumuš
may he be bringingnantumuš
may he not be bringing

VERBAL ADJECTIVE

Participle conjugation

gurridam, gurrudam
simudamhe shall give back, he has given back
he shall give back

INTRANSITIVE PERMANSIVE

THEME (N)I-LAL

PRETERIT

Without infixes

Indicative

	(a) positive	(b) negative
1. sg.	(n)izigen	nuzigen
2. “	(n)izigen	nuzigen
3. “	(n)izi	nuzi
1. pl.	(n)izigenden	nuzigenden
2. “	(n)izigenzen	nuzigenzen
3. “	(n)izigeš I (have) marched	nuzigeš I have (did) not march

With infixes

na “to him”

Indicative

	(a) positive: Perfect	(b) positive: Historical tense	(c) negative: both tenses
1. sg.	innazigen	munazigen	numunazigen
2. “	innazigen	munazigen	numunazigen
3. “	innazi	munazi	numunazi
1. pl.	innazigenden	munazigenden	numunazigenden
2. “	innazigenšen	munazigenšen	numunazigenšen
3. “	innazigeš I have marched to him	munazigeš I marched to him	numunazigeš I have (did) not march to him

ne “to them”

3. sg.	i(n)nezi	munezi
--------	----------	--------

INTRANSITIVE PERMANSIVE

THEME (N)I-LAL

PRETERIT

Without infixes

Optative		Imperative and Infinitive
(a) positive	(b) negative	
gazi		_____
hezigen	nazigen	ziga
hezi	nazi	_____

hezigenzen	nazigenzen	
hezigeš	nazigeš	_____
let me march, etc.	mayest thou not march	march

With infixes

na "to him"

(a) positive	(b) negative	Imperative and Infinitive
ganazi		
he(n)nazigen	na(n)nazigen	zigana
he(n)nazi	na(n)nazi	
he(n)nazigenšen	na(n)nazigenšen	
he(n)nazigeš	na(n)nazigeš	
let me march to him	mayest thou not march to him	march to him

ne "to them"

he(n)nezi	zigane
-----------	--------

		(m)'a "to me"	
3. sg.	mazi	mazi	
		(ma)ra, (mu)ra "to you"	
"	marazi	murazi	numurazi
		(n)da "with (him)"	
"	indazi	mu(n)dazi	

FUTURE

Without infixes

Indicative

	(a) positive	(b) negative
1. sg.	(n)itemaden	nutemaden
2. "	(n)itemaden	nutemaden
3. "	(n)itemade	nutemade
	I (shall) march	I do (shall) not march

With infixes

na "to him"

1. sg.	innatemaden	numunatemaden
	I shall march to him	I shall not march to him

(mu)ra "to thee"

1. sg.	muratemaden	numuratemaden
	I shall march to thee	I shall not march to thee

THEME AL-LAL

Without infixes

Indicative

	(a) positive	(b) negative
1. sg.	algubben	nugubben
2. "	algubben	nugubben
3. "	algub	nugub

(m)'a "to me"

ḥamazi

zima "march to me"

(ma)ra, (mu)ra "to you"

ḥamurazi

nammurazi

(n)da "with (him)"

he(n)dazi

nandazi

ziga(n)da

FUTURE

Without infixes

Precative

(a) positive

(b) negative

1. sg. ———

—————

2. " ḥetemaden

natemaden

3. " ḥetemade

natemade

mayest thou march

mayest thou not march

With infixes

na "to him"

2. sg. hannatemaden

nannatemaden

mayest thou march to him

mayest thou not march to him

ma "to thee"

2. sg. ḥamatemaden

nammatemaden

mayest thou come to me

mayest thou not come to me

THEME AL-LAL

Without infixes

Optative

Imperative

and Infinitive

(a) positive

(b) negative

gagub

ḥegubben

ḥegub

na(n)gubben

na(n)gub

gubba

1. pl.	algubbenden	nugubbenden
2. “	algubbenzen	nugubbenzen
3. “	algubbeš	nugubbeš
	I have been placed, I stand	I have not been placed, I do not stand

With infixes

See theme ni-LAL

THEME BA-LAL

Without infixes

Indicative

(a) middle, positive (b) passive, positive (c) negative, passive

1. sg.	bazigen	badimmen	labadimmen
2. “	bazigen	badimmen	labadimmen
3. “	bazi	badim	labadim
1. pl.	bazigenden	badimmenden	labadimmenden
2. “	bazigenzen	badimmenzen	labadimmenzen
3. “	bazigeš	badimeš	labadimeš
	I (have) marched (for me)	I have been (was) made	it was not made

With infixes

3. sg.	bannazi	labannazi
	he marched to him (in his own interest)	he did not march to him
3. sg.	barae	labarae
	he went out	he did not go out

ḡegubbenzen	na(n)gubbenzen	
ḡegubbeš	na(n)gubbeš	
may I stand	mayest thou not stand	stand

With infixes
See theme ni-LAL

THEME BA-LAL

Without infixes

Indicative	Optative	
negative (=theme al-LAL)	(a) positive (=theme al-LAL)	(b) negative (=theme al-LAL)
nudimmen	ḡedimmen	nadimmen
nudimmen	ḡedim	nadim
nudim		
nudimmenden	—	—
nudimmenzen	ḡedimmenzen	nadimmenzen
nudimeš	ḡedimeš	nadimeš
it has (had) not been made	may it be made	may it not be made

With infixes.

ḡabannazi	nambannazi
may he march to him	may he not march to him

habarae	nambarae	ebara
may he go out	may he not go out	go out

VERBAL ADJECTIVES

Intransitive

(a) Participle	(b) Participle conjugation
ziga marching, having marched	1. sg. zigamen 1. pl. 2. " zigamen 2. " 3. " zigam 3. " zigameš I am marching

MIDDLE

	Preterit	Present—
	(a) positive (b) negative	(a) positive
1. sg.	sa-ba'du	sa-ba(b)dugen
2. "	sa-baedu	sa-ba(b)dugen
3. "	sa-bandu	sa-ba(b)dugi
1. pl.		sa-ba(b)dugenden
2. "		sa-ba(b)dugenzen
3. "	sa-bandugeš I equaled	sa-ba(b)dugene I equal
	sa-laba'du sa-labaedu sa-labandu	
	sa-labandugeš I did not equal	

APPLICATIVE

	Preterit	Present—
	(a) positive (b) negative	(a) positive
1. sg.	bi'si	bi(b)dugen
2. "	bisi	bi(b)dugen
3. "	binsi	bi(b)dugi
1. pl.		bi(b)dugenden
2. "		bi(b)dugenzen
3. "	binsi'eš he filled	bi(b)dugene he gladdens
	libi'si libisi libinsi	
	libinsi'es he did not fill	

VERBAL ADJECTIVES

Passive

(a) Participle		(b) Participle conjugation			
dimma	made	1. sg.	dimmamen	1. pl.	
sima	given	2. "	dimmamen	2. "	
nugigida	not to be revoked	3. "	dimmam	3. "	dimmameš
			I have been made		

MIDDLE

Future		Optative		Imperative
(b) negative		(a) positive	(b) negative	
sa-laba(b)dugen				
sa-laba(b)dugen		sa-ḥaba(b)dugen	sa-namba(b)dugen	sa-dubab
sa-laba(b)dugi		sa-ḥaba(b)dugi	sa-namba(b)dugi	
sa-laba(b)dugenden				
sa-laba(b)dugenzen		sa-ḥaba(b)dugenzen	sa-namba(b)dugenzen	
sa-laba(b)dugene		sa-ḥaba(b)dugene	sa-namba(b)dugene	
I do not equal		mayest thou equal	mayest thou not equal	equal

APPLICATIVE

Future		Optative		Imperative
(b) negative		(a) positive	(b) negative	
libi(b)dugen				—
libi(b)dugen		ḥebi(b)dugen	nambi(b)dugen	dubib
libi(b)dugi		ḥebi(b)dugi	nambi(b)dugi	—
libi(b)dugenden				—
libi(b)dugenzen		ḥebi(b)dugenzen	nambi(b)dugenzen	
libi(b)dugene		ḥebi(b)dugene	nambi(b)dugene	—
he does not glad- den		may he gladden	may he not glad- den	gladden

THEME IMMI-LAL

Preterit			
	(a) positive	(b) negative	(c) emphatic positive
1. sg.	immi'il ¹	nummi'il	hemmi'il
2. "	immi'il	nummi'il	hemmi'il
3. "	imminil	numminil	hemminil
1. pl.			
2. "			
3. "	imminileš	numminileš	hemminileš
	I caused to be high	I did not cause to be high....	indeed, I caused to be high....

¹ In the old language emeil.

THEME IMMI-LAL

Present-Future		Optative		Imper- ative
(a) positive	(b) negative	(a) positive	(b) negative	
immi'ilen	nummi'ilen			
immi'ilen	nummi'ilen	hemmi'ilen	nammi'ilen	umi'il
immi'ile	nummi'ile	hemmi'ile	nammi'ile	
immi'ilenden	nummi'ilenden			
immi'ilenzen	nummi'ilenzen	hemmi'ilenzen	nammi'ilenzen	
immi'ilene	nummi'ilene	hemmi'ilene	nammi'ilene	
I shall cause	I shall not cause	mayest thou	mayest thou not	cause
to be high	to be high . . .	cause to be	cause to be high	to be
. . .		high . . .	. . .	high

ANALYSIS OF THE SUMERIAN VERBAL SYSTEM

THE ACTIVE PRESENT-FUTURE THEMES

Tablet No. 150 gives us the following important correspondences of imperative and precative forms of a different genus verbi:

ziga	tibi	march	gazi	lutbi	may I march
zigab	šutbi	cause to march	gabzi	lušitbi	may I cause to march
zigan	šutbi	cause to march	ganzi	lušitbi	may I cause to march

It will be seen that in the intransitive forms *ziga* and *gazi*, which are composed of the verbal root *zi(g)* on one side and the affixed infinitive-imperative element *a* and the prefixed precative element *ga* on the other side, the intransitive idea is not denoted at all by a special element characteristic of the genus verbi, whereas in the two groups of transitive-causative forms, namely, in *zigab*, *gabsi* and *zigan*, *ganzi*, we find an additional *b* or *n*, which, therefore, necessarily must be the characteristic elements of the transitive-causative conjugation, at least when contrasted with intransitive forms such as *ziga* and *gazi*. From tablet No. 142, Col. 2, then we learn that the transitive imperative form *dimmab* "make" and the transitive precative *gabdim* "may I make," which forms are entirely analogous to *zigab* and *gabzi*, belong to the transitive present-future theme *abdime* "he makes," in which we again observe the *b* found to be characteristic of the transitive-causative idea. By mere analogy with the forms *ab-LAL-e*, *LAL-ab* and *gab-LAL*, we may then infer from the forms *zigan* and *ganzi* another row of transitive-causative forms *an-LAL-e* (=indicative of the present-future), *LAL-an* (=imperative) and *gan-LAL* (=precative), in which an *n* is the element characteristic of the transitive-causative idea.

The position of these elements *b* and *n* is immediately before the verbal root, *i. e.*, at the end of the prefixes. Cf. *ga-(n)na-b-dim* "I will make for him," 142 Col. 2₁₅; *ḫe-(n)na-b-*

dim-e "may he make for him," *ibid.*_{16'}; ga-mura-b-dim "I will make for you," *ibid.*_{10'}; na-b-dim-e "may he not make," *ibid.*_{g'}; mu-na-ni-b-gigi "he replied to him," HGT 26₃₃, etc. The b (and probably the n) keeps its place at the end of the prefixes even when the latter are placed after the verbal root, which is the case in the infinitive and imperative; cf. dim(m)-a-b "make," 142 Col. 24'; dim(m)-a-na-b "make for him," *ibid.*_{14'}; gur-a-nši-b "turn to him," ASK 122₁₈.

As to the original meaning and functions of the transitive-causative elements b and n, however, very little can be said at present. It is very tempting to see in them simply original pronouns either fulfilling the functions of independent accusative objects, or taking up again an object preceding the verbal form. (A)b-dim-e would then have originally meant "he makes it;" as an accusative naturally can be connected only with verbal expressions of more or less transitive-causative meaning, the original pronouns may easily have developed into elements characteristic of the transitive-causative genus. From this assumption it would, of course, follow that the verbal root itself could express both the intransitive and the transitive meaning, and we need only recall the faulty use of "I learned him" instead of "I taught him" in English, and of "ich habe es ihn gelernt" instead of "ich habe es ihn gelehrt" in German, to see that such a double use is very well possible.

There must, of course, be some distinction between the b and n forms. If the above given suggestion concerning the origin of the elements b and n should prove right, then it would be but natural to see the original difference of the b and n forms of the verb in the difference between the meanings of the pronominal elements b(i) and n(i). But as the grammatical material now available has not yet been sifted with sufficient thoroughness, a decision on this question as well as on that as to what extent this original meaning was still felt in the language of the period here treated, is at the present entirely impossible.


On the original character of the a which precedes the b (and n) in the form abLALe (and anLALe?) likewise nothing

definite can be said at present. Probably the *a* is of secondary origin, simply serving to support the consonantal elements *b* and *n*; it is not found in the negative and precative forms *nubdime*, *hebtime* and *nabtime*; but here we have to reckon with the possibility that the particles *he*, *nu* and *na* would not require the *a*, if this latter should be characteristic of the positive indicative only, or it might even have been absorbed in the immediately preceding vowel. In that stage of the language with which we have to deal at present, the vocalic beginning of the indicative present forms, however, is an essential feature, as is clearly shown by the fact that in case the simple form *abdime* is to be connected with the infixes *na*, *ne*, *ni*, etc., which might very well support the following *b* or *n*, the vowel *a* (or *i*, into which *a* sometimes changes owing to vowel harmony) does not disappear; cf. *a-(n)ni-b-dim-e*, *i-(n)na-b-dim-e*, *i-(n)ne-b-dim-e*, etc. In these cases the *a* (or *i*) is even separated from the elements *b* and *n*, a fact which indicates that this vowel has become independent from the consonantal elements *b* and *n*; but whether this independence in the case of the forms with infix was a feature of the original verbal system or whether it must be ascribed to analogy with other verbal prefixes, such as *e* and *mu*, we cannot say at present. As regards the replacing of the element *a* by the prefix *mu* in forms like *mabdime*, *murabdime*, *muešibtime*, etc., see later our remarks on the preterit.

To a certain extent the beginning *a* is subject to the law of vowel differentiation. Instead of *annabLALe*, for instance, we usually find *innabLALe*; cf. ¹²*in-na-ab-gur-ri*=*u-tar-šu* (in older language *utaršum*) "he shall return (transitive) to him;" ¹⁴*in-na-ab-gí-gí*=*ip-pa-al-šu* "he shall return (it) to him;" ¹⁶*in-na-ab-sì-mu*=*in-na-din-šu* "he shall give to him," ASK p. 45, Col. 1; *in-na-ab-kal-la-gí-ne* (= *udanninûšum*, *-šim*) "they shall pay him (her) in rations," BE VI 2, No. 28₂₅, *in-na-ab-kal(a)-gí-ne*, *ibid.*, No. 48₃₀; on the other hand, we do not find, as far as I know, the combination *innibtime*, but only *annibtime* on account of the *i* in the second syllable; cf. *an-ni-*

ib-ti-ti, 142 Rev. Col. 4¹⁴, kar-an-ni-ib-dū-e BE VI 2, No. 57²²; gar-an-ni-ib-kú-a, *ibid.*, No. 4¹⁵. An exact parallel to the forms innabLALe, as regards the law of vowel differentiation, is found in those cases where the elements (b)da “with it,” etc., and (b)ta, “from it,” etc., are inserted in the form abLALe; for on account of the a in the second syllable this form is not abtabLALe, but ibtabLALe, that is, the beginning a has again been changed to i. Cf. ⁴³bù...⁴⁵ki-gub-ba-bi íb-da-ab-kúr-ru-a, Rim-Sin-Šala-baštašu; lù ki-gub-ba-bi íb-da-ab-kúr-ri-a, “who shall alter its standing place,” AMAR-Sin, Brick D; ⁶lù...-⁹šu-ib-ta-ab-ūru¹-a “who shall wipe it out,” Gudea, Statue B, Col. 8; ⁶lù...⁷im-ta-ab-è-è-a “who shall remove,” *ibid.*, Col. 8; Statue C, Col. 4⁵. Even the simple ab may sometimes be changed to ib as, *e. g.*, in ⁴³lù...⁴³íb-zi-ir-ri-a, Rim-Sin-Šala-baštašu, lù...íb-zi-ri-a, Gud. Statue B 7¹⁰, C 4⁵⁻⁷, “who shall break it,” where the change of the vowel is evidently caused by the i of the root owing to the tendency of vowel harmony. For preserved a see lù im-sar-ra-e ab-ḥa-lam-me-a “who shall destroy this inscription,” HGT 34 Col. 24, inscription of Rimuš; lù mu-sar-ra-e ab-ḥa-lam-e-a, *ibid.*, Col. 5, inscription of Šarru-kin; lù im-sar-ra-e ab-....-e-a “who shall this inscription,” *ibid.*, Col. 3, inscription of Šarru-kin.

In the imperative and infinitive we find the elements ab and an according to the general rule concerning the formation of these forms, placed after the verbal roots without a pronominal element indicative of the person: dim(m)-ab “make,” 142 Rev. Col. 24; zi-ga!-ab and zi-ga-an=šu-ut-[bi] “cause to proceed;” zál-zál-ga-ab=ub-bi-[ib], 136 Col. 2¹³. When tak-

¹ Since the future form requires the ending e in the third person, the sign  does here, of course, not have the value ūr, as Thureau-Dangin in SAKI, p. 72, assumes, but the value ūru, which CT 12, 22 (36991) and CT 12, 21 (47779) expressly ascribe to our sign; note that instead of ⁴³lù...⁴⁶mu-sar-ra-ba šu-bí-íb-uru-a in the inscription of Rim-Sin-Šala-baštašu, the inscription of Kadašman-turgu (OBI 63) has ¹⁴lù mu-sar-ra-ba ¹⁵šu-bí-íb-ūr-e-a. An entirely parallel case we have in an-e^den-lil-e...⁴⁴ḥe-URUDU-kúr(u)-ne “may Anu and Enlil destroy,” Gudea, Statue B, Col. 8; ⁹⁵nu-ù-ùb-kúr(u)-ne-a, “that they will not alter,” ITT III 5279, where kúr has the value kura (unless we have here perhaps to assume an elision which cannot yet be decided with sufficient certainty at the present); cf., *e. g.*, íb-da-ab-kúr-ru-a beside íb-da-ab-kúr-ri-a in the passages quoted above.

ing an infix, these forms likewise divide the element *ab* in two parts and insert the infix; cf. *dim(m)-a-na-b* "make for him," 142 Rev. Col. 2₁₄'; *gur-a-nši-b* "turn to him" ASK p. 122₁₈. In such a case, however, no vowel differentiation takes place, the *a* apparently having become too characteristic of the imperative and infinitive to be changed, quite apart from the fact that in consequence of the transposition of the element *ab* the euphonic conditions naturally have greatly changed. Cf. *dim(m)-a-na-b*, not *dim(m)-i-na-b*. Following the analogy of the other present-future forms, those which employ the prefix *mu*, likewise transfer the whole complex of verbal prefixes to the end of the verbal root in the imperative; cf. *tuku-ma-ab* "have to me" < *tuku+mu+'a+b* (for *tuku+a+'a+b*). See later under "The preterit."

The pronominal elements referring to the subject of the action expressed by the verbal root are the following:

1. sg. -en	1. pl. -enden
2. sg. -en	2. pl. -enzen
3. sg. -e	3. pl. -ene

These elements, which denote the person as well as the number, take their place after the verbal root, thus being entirely post-positive: *abdim(m)-enzen* "you do" = verbal theme + you (plural of the second person). In this point the present future theme differs essentially from the preterit and active-permansive, in which the elements characteristic of the person stand before the root, while the element characteristic of the number is placed after it; cf. *mu-n-LAL-eš*. It is very interesting to observe that a similar difference is found in the Semitic languages, the conjugation of the perfect (*qatal*) being purely postpositive, that of the present (*iaqtul*) mixed pre- and post-positive.¹

¹ Cf. Perf. 2. sgl. m. —ta

f. —t-i

2. pl. m. —t-unu(umu, etc.)

f. —t-ina(unnâ, etc.)

Pres. ta—

ta—i

ta—û

ta—â, nâ, etc.

The precative, which is formed with the prefixed particles *he* "may (he)," and *na* "may (he) not," takes the same endings as the indicative of the present-future; cf. *he-ib-dim-e* "may he make" 142 Rev. Col. 28', <*he*+(a)*b-dim-e*; *na-ab-dím-e* "may he not make," *ibid.*₉, <*na*+(a)*b-dim-e*. It will be observed that, as far as the positive precative is concerned, this constitutes an essential difference between Sumerian and Semitic Babylonian, since in the latter language the particle *lu* or *li* "may he" is connected with the preterit, not the present; cf. *lipuš* "may he make." In the negative form, however, both languages agree, since the prohibitive negation *la*, like *na* in Sumerian, is construed with the present: cf. *la ippeš* "may he not do." The logical construction of the precative particles, when referring to the future or present, is, of course, with the present-future form, and it may be recalled that in the other Semitic languages, where the theme *iaqtul* has preserved its original present-future meaning, the precative *liqtul* indeed likewise belongs to the present-future theme, the existence of the precative form *liqtul* in Semitic Babylonian therefore proving that the indicative form *iaqtul* had originally the usual present-future meaning also in this language. This difference in the forms of the positive precative in Sumerian and Akkadian, by the way, is evidently the cause of the confusion between the precative *hebdime*, *hendime* and the emphatic assertive preterite *hendim*, *humundim*, etc., which we notice in some inscriptions.

The e-vowel of the particle *he* asserts itself in the simple form *hebdime* <*he*+(a)*bdime* as well as before the dative infix *na*: *he-en-na-ab-dím-e* 142 Rev. Col. 216'; before the dative infix of the first person *ma* and that of the second *ra*, however, it becomes subject to vowel harmony; cf. *ha-ma-ab-dím-e* "may he make for me" *loc. cit.* 21', *KA-ha-ra-ab-šā-šā-gi-ne=li-iš-te-mi-ga-kum* "may they show reverence unto thee," *LIH* 65 Col. 214, 15.

The precative of the first person which is characterized by the prefix *ga* "may I," on the other hand, does not take the present-future ending of the first person (-en), evidently because

the element *ga* already expresses the idea of the first person (=“may I”), while the prefixes *ḥe* and *na* convey only the idea “may” and “may not” without reference to a certain grammatical person, as is shown by the fact that these prefixes can be connected either with the third or the second person. Cf. *ga-ab-dím=lu-bu-uš* “may I make,” “indeed I will make” 142 Rev. Col. 25'. The dative infix of the second person, when inserted in the complex *gab*, is *mura*, not *ra*; cf. *ga-mu-ra-ab-dím = lu-bu-ša-ku-um* “let me make for thee,” loc. cit. 10.¹

As has been mentioned above, the transitive-causative elements *b* and *n* are by no means required in all cases in order to give the verbal root a transitive-causative meaning. The active conjugation which does not make use of the elements *b* and *n*, and which we shall therefore refer to as the simple conjugation in contradistinction to the *b* and *n* conjugations, uses the prefixes (n)*ì* and *al* in the present-future, as far as the simple forms, *i. e.*, those without an infix, are concerned; cf. the frequently found (n)*ì-lá-e* (=išaqal) “he will (shall) pay (money),” *e. g.*, BE VI 2, No. 40^{11, 16}, and *al-ág-e* (=imaddad) “he shall pay (grain),” *ibid.* 51⁹. When compared with the forms *abdime* and *andime* these prefixes *ni* and *al* would correspond to the element *a* in the last mentioned forms, and like this vowel simply serve to convey the idea of finite action in connection with the following verbal root. In fact, when compounded with infixes, the prefixes (n)*ì* and *al* are replaced by the element *a* or *i*, into which latter, as we saw, the *a* is frequently changed. Thus we never find a form (n)*ì-na-lá-e* or *al-na-ág-e*, but always *i-(n)na-lá-e'* and *i-(n)na-ág-e*.

If thus the general meaning of the prefixes (n)*ì* and *al* in the present-future theme is clear, yet we cannot yet answer the question as to when (n)*ì* or *al* may be required or preferred in a certain form. We shall later see that (n)*ì* and *al* are likewise found as simple prefixes in the intransitive permansive theme, and there again the meanings expressed by them in

¹ See later the remarks on the preterit prefix *mu*.

connection with the verbal root are very nearly related to one another, though not identical; whether perhaps a corresponding difference in the meaning of the two prefixes may be assumed for the present-future theme or whether the choice of (n)î or al depended entirely on euphonic reasons, must be left for future investigations to decide. However, there can be no doubt that the prefixes (n)î and al of the simple present-future are identical with those of the intransitive themes. On this question, as well as concerning the pronunciation of Nî as î, see the remarks on the latter themes.

THE PRETERIT OF THE ACTIVE

One of the principal differences between the forms of the active preterit and the active present is that in the former the pronominal elements characteristic of the subject are of a mixed pre- and postpositive character, while the corresponding elements in the present-future are purely postpositive. It will be noted that the postpositive elements found in the present-future theme show an unmistakable affinity to the common forms of the independent personal pronoun; the pronominal elements of the preterit, however, are entirely different forms and, moreover, impress us as being in a much mutilated or worn condition, a fact which at once suggests that we have here the remnants of forms considerably older than the independent pronoun of historical times. From this it would follow, of course, that the pre- and postpositive conjugation, as found in the preterit, itself is of a comparatively greater age than the purely postpositive conjugation which we find in the present-future and, as we shall see later, in the intransitive permansive forms. In both respects the pronominal elements of the Sumerian pre- and postpositive conjugation, as found in the active preterit, may be compared with the pronominal elements of the Semitic pre- and postpositive conjugation *jaqtul*;¹ for these latter likewise differ much more from the forms of the

¹ '(a), t(a) (—î, etc.), î(a) (—û, etc.) t(a), n(a).

independent pronoun than the corresponding pronominal elements of the purely postpositive conjugation qatal and evidently represent a much older stage of the personal pronoun than the later independent pronoun.

Another very striking similarity between the two modes of conjugation in Semitic and Sumerian must be seen in the fact that in both languages the different position of the pronominal elements is utilized, or at least now seems to be utilized, to denote different times of the action expressed by the verbal root, but with this difference, that in all Semitic languages with the exception of Babylonian, the mixed pre- and postpositive conjugation serves to convey the idea of the present, and the purely postpositive conjugation that of the preterit; that is to say, we notice in the Semitic languages the exact reverse of the usage just pointed out for the Sumerian language. However, it will be remembered that the Babylonian branch of the Semitic languages essentially deviates in this point from its relatives in that the mixed pre- and postpositive conjugation, at least in its original form (ikšud), has assumed the meaning of the preterit, Semitic Babylonian thus agreeing in this point with Sumerian, while deviating from the other Semitic languages. It need hardly be pointed out that this is an indication of a strong influence of Sumerian on the development of the Semitic-Babylonian verb, an influence which in the course of our investigations will become even more evident by a comparison of the Akkadian permansive with the corresponding Sumerian intransitive permansive theme.

The forms of the pronominal elements of the preterit are the following:

1. sg.	-ʾ-	1. pl.	....
2. sg.	-e-	2. pl.	....
3. sg.	-n-	3. pl.	-n—eš
3. coll.	-b-		

The n which is characteristic of the third person is, of course, identical with the n which we saw is the chief element

in the enclitic genitive pronoun of the third person (a)n(i); likewise the neuter or collective b is identical with the b found in the enclitic possessive pronoun bi. The plural element eš is identical with the element eš "many" in the indefinite nominal plural ending me-eš "being many."

A clear example for b denoting a collective as subject is found in the phrase: (šu-nigin) x lugal mu-bi y mu íb-â "so many kings ruled so many years," No. 2, Col. 3₁₄₋₁₆, 11₁₋₅, 7-9, etc., and in the passage lammu-bi 3 mu íb-â "these four ruled 3 years," No. 3, Col. 8₁₂'. For no matter whether in the first of the quoted examples íb-â has to be referred to x lugal ("so many kings made so many years") or to mu-bi ("their years made so many years"), in both cases the subject would be a collective; note that the substantive lugal, to which the number refers, is in the singular, and that in No. 3, Col. 8₁₂, where it is replaced by a pronoun, the neuter or collective possessive (or demonstrative) pronoun bi is used. The real singular of the third person, referring to the singular lugal, on the other hand, is expressed by the verbal form in-â with the characteristic n of the third singular; cf. the phrase X (lugalam) x mu in-â "X (as king) made x years," No. 5, Col. 4_{1, 2}, etc.; while in the same inscription in the phrase x lugal-e-ne mu-x in-â-eš we find the regular plural form in-â-eš with the n of the third person and the plural ending eš, because here the subject is the regular plural lugal-e-ne.

In order to prove the distinction in the inscriptions of the persons of the preterit, I have collected in the following all preterit forms found in a number of inscriptions of Sin-idinnam, Warad-Sin, Rim-Sin, Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna, that is, inscriptions belonging to the period with which our present grammatical investigations are especially concerned. Some of these inscriptions are written in the third, others in the first person, the person in every case being easily ascertained from the pronouns which the author, the king, uses when referring to himself. The preterit forms of the inscriptions which give

narration in the first person, as far as they refer to the king, are the following:

Hammurabi, Sumerian and Akkadian parallel inscriptions, LIH 58.

ḥe(-(im)-)mi-il	lu-ul-li	I raised, l. 14.
ḥu-mu-ni-nigin	lu-uš-ta-as-hi-ir-su	I surrounded it, l. 15.
ḥu-mu-ba-al	lu-uḥ-ri	I dug, l. 18.
ḥu-mu-ni-nitaḥ	lu-um-mi-su	I supported it, l. 20.
ḥe-im-mi-dur	lu-u-še-ši-ib	I settled (them) therein, l. 32.
ḥu-mu-na-dū	lu e-bu-ús-su-um	I built for him, l. 40.

Samšu-iluna, Sumerian and Akkadian parallel inscriptions. LIH 98, 99 and VAT.

mi-ni-dú	al-bi-in	I moulded (bricks), l. 70.
im-mi-dū	e-bu-uš	I built, l. 71.
mi-ni-il	u-ul-li	I raised, l. 73.
mi-ni-gi-en	u-ki-in	I made firm, l. 75.
ḥu-mu-ni-maḥ	lu-u-ši-ir	I made splendid therein, l. 76.
ḥe-bi-diri	lu-u-ša-tir	I enlarged, l. 79.

Warad-Sin, brick B (cf. me-en "I am" 1₉).

ù-gul im-ma-an-mà-mà	I asked him, 2 ₂ .
mu-na-dū	I built for him, 2 ₇ .
ḥe-im-mi-URUDU	I therein, 2 ₃ .

Warad-Sin, clay nail (cf. me-en 1₁₇).

mu-na-[dū]	I built for him, 2 ₁₄ .
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Warad-Sin, stone tablet (cf. me-en 1₁₁).

ḥu-mu-na-dū	I built for him, Rev., l. 1.
ki-bi ḥe-im-mi-gí	I restored, l. 2. ¹
ḥe-im-mi-dur	I caused to dwell therein, l. 3.
ḥe-im-mi-gál	I caused to be therein, l. 6. ¹
ki-ḥe-bí-gub	I (the foundation), l. 10. ¹
ḥe-bí-si	I (the wall), l. 11. ¹

¹ Thureau-Dangin (SAKI, p. 214) erroneously translates: "Der Name meines Königtums sei ewig." ḥe-im-mi-gál, ki-ḥe-bí-gub and ḥe-bí-si, as the above rule proves, are active indicative forms of the first person, not precative forms of the third. The precative sentences begin only with line 12 where they, as elsewhere, are introduced with nig-â-mu-šú "on account of what I have done may"

Warad-Sin, cylinder (cf. me-en 1₂).

mu-na-dū	I built for him, 2 ₁ .
ḥu-mu-ni-in-íl	I raised, 2 ₃ .

Warad-Sin, canephore (cf. me-en 1₅).

mu-dū	I built, 2 ₃ .
igi-bí-in-íl	I, 2 ₅ . ²
ḥe-bí-gub	I erected, 2 ₇ . ²

Rim-Sin, clay nail A (cf. me-en l. 22).

mu-na-dū	I built for him, l. 33.
im-mi-gă	I (the temennu), l. 37.

Rim-Sin, stone tablet A (cf. lugal-mu-ùr "for my lord" l. 37).

mu-na-dū	I built for him, l. 12.
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Compare also the first persons in the inscription of-^dEnlil, HGT 74, which contains a speech of Enlil addressed to the king.

á-nun ḥu-mu-ta-gál	I endowed (thee) with great power, 1 ₁₅ .
ḥe-il	I exalted (thee), 1 ₁₈ .
ḥe-mah?	I exalted (thee), 1 ₁₉ .
sage-e-š mu-ra-PA+TUG+DU	I gave unto thee as a present, 2 ₂₃ , 29.
ma-ra-sì	I gave to thee, 3 ₁₆ .
mu-ra-da-an-zal	I, 3 ₂₀ .
mu-ra-gi-en	I made secure for thee, 3 ₂₄ .
bí-gub	I placed (upon thy head), 4 ₉ .
šu- . . . mu-ra-a-gâ	I placed in thy hand, 4 ₂₁ .
hu-mu-ra-ab-gă(r)	I made for thee, 5 ₆ .
ḥun-bí-è	I let shine forth, 5 ₁₅ .
im-ta-zi	I took out from . . . , 5 ₂₀ .
mi-ni-in-gă-ra	After I had established therein, 5 ₂₄ .
mu-dû-ga	After I had gladdened, 6 ₁ .
mu-ni-in-gă	I established therein, 6 ₁₁ .
ḥe-ni-tū	I changed to . . . , 6 ₁₁ , 7 ₁₁ .
ḥe-rá	I worked (him), 6 ₂₀ .
ḥe-im-ta-è	I removed from . . . , 7 ₆ .
u-gu ḥe-ni-dé	I destroyed, 7 ₁₄ .
ḥe-mi-gál	I, 7 ₁₇ .

² Not precativ forms of the third person; cf. the preceding note.

In the same inscriptions from which the foregoing examples for the first person are collected, the following third persons of the preterit occur:

Hammurabi, LIH 58.

ba-ra-an-dím-ma	la ìb-ni-u	(what a king) had not built, l. 38.
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Samsu-iluna, LIH 98, etc.

igi- . . . in-ši-in-bar- ri-eš-a	ip-pa-ul-su-šum	(when) they had looked upon him, ll. 5, 6.
mu-na-an-sì-mu-uš-a	i-ti-nu-šum	(when) they gave to him, l. 8.
mi-ni-in-sà-eš-a	i-bi-u-šu	(when) they called him, l. 10.
mu-na-an-gi-ni-eš-a	u-ki-in-nu-šum	(when) they made secure for him, l. 15.
ma-an-sì	i-din-nam	he gave to me, l. 26.
á . . . hu-mu-da-an-ág	lu-u-wa-e-ra-an-ni	he ordered me, l. 33.
bí-in-sì-ga	mu-uš-te-eš-mi	who has subdued, l. 39.
in-dím-en-na	ba-ni-ti-ia	who has borne me, l. 45.
bí-ib-gu-ul-la	mu-ša-ar-bi	who has made great, l. 54.
tún . . . bí-in-šâ-a	ha-ti	who has vanquished, l. 60.
mi-ni-in-dū-a	i-bu-šu	which he had built, l. 65.
he-en-dul	lu-ik-tum	it has covered, l. 83.
igi . . . hu-mu-ši-in- bar-ri-eš	lu ip-pa-al-su-nim	they have looked upon me, ll. 87, 88.
sag-e-eš hu-mu-PA+ TÜG+DU-eš	lu iš-ru-ku-nim	they have given unto me as a present, l. 100.

Warad-Sin, brick B.

mu-ši-in-še	he granted to me, 24.
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Warad-Sin, clay nail.

šu-gibil bí-in-šâ-a	who has restored, 119.
igi-ma-ni-in-dū-a	(when) he looked upon me, 22.
igi . . . mu-ši-in-bar-ra	(when) he looked upon me, 24.
mà-a-ar ma-an-dū-ga	(when) he commanded me, 27.

Warad-Sin, canephore.

nu-un-še-ga which she had not allowed, 1₁₃.
 mà-ra ma-an-dū-ga which (to build) she ordered me, 1₁₆₋₂₂.

Rim-Sin, clay nail A.

û . . . šu-mu-šù bí-in-si-eš-a when they gave into my hands, l. 26

Rim-Sin, stone tablet A.

û . . . šu-mu-šù ma-ni-in-si-eš-a when they gave into my hands, Rev. l. 6.

HGT 74.

sag-ki . . . mu-ši-in-bar he looked upon me, 3₉.
 nam . . . mu-un-tar he determined the fate for me, 3₁₀.
 nam-mu mi-ni-in-tar-ra after he had determined my fate, 5₉, 10.

The following inscriptions of Hammu-rabi and Sin-idinam are written in the third person and contain the following preterit forms:

Hammurabi, LIH 62.

šu-gibil bí-in-šâ-a who restored, l. 20.
 û . . . mu-na-an-si-ma-ta after he had given unto him, l. 26.
 šu-ni-šú bí-in-si-a after had placed in his hand, l. 30.
 mu-na-ni-in-dū he built for him therein, l. 39.

Hammurabi, LIH 61, contains the same verbal forms as the preceding inscription.

Sin-idinam, clay nail A.

lù . . . ki-bi-šú bí-in-gí-a who has restored, 1₁₁.
 (h) . . . mu-un-bal-la-a (when) he had dug, 1₁₄.
 im-mi-in-gă-ra-a (when) he had caused to be in it, 1₁₈.
 im-mi-in-dū he caused to be built in it, 2₁₁.

It will be seen that the verbal forms of the third person show immediately before the verbal root the n of the third

person, with the only exception of the verb *bibgulla* which belongs to the *b*-conjugation and omits the *n* on account of the *b*. The verbs in the first person, on the other hand, show, at least in script, no consonantal elements whatever at the place where the third persons have the *n*, except in the case of the verbs *má*, *il*, *zal* and *gâ(r)*, which belong to the *b* and *n*-conjugations and where the *b* or *n* found before the root is therefore the characteristic element of these conjugations and not a pronominal element denoting the subject.

In a preterit form with infixes this results in the remarkable phenomenon that the same personal elements can appear at two or three different places, as may be illustrated by the verbal form “*mu-n-a-n-ši-n-gar*” “he made + for him + to him,” the analyzed scheme of which is: 1. verbal formative element + (2. pronominal element + 3. dimensional element) + (4. pronominal element + 5. dimensional element + 6. pronominal element + 7. verbal root). However, this phenomenon is easily understood; for in the logic of the Sumerian language the connection of the pronominal element with the dimensional element (2+3, 4+5) represents exactly the same case as the connection of the pronominal element with the verbal root (6+7), since both, the postposition as well as the verbal root, are conceived as modifiers of the pronouns ‘, e, n and b, ee-da, *e. g.*, meaning “thou—one with whom something is,” *e-túm* “thou—one who is carrying.” A verbal form such as *mu-n-a-n-ši-n-gar*, therefore, contains three complexes of the same kind and, originally at least, completely coordinate, which now, however, are chained together by means of the prefixion of the verbal element *mu*; for since the latter, which stands at the head of the chain of complexes, and the last complex itself form the definite verbal form *mu-(n-)gar* “(he) made,” the other complexes are completely enclosed within this verbal form.

The position of the subject element is immediately before the verbal root, or, with other words, at the end of the chain of prefixes and infixes. The logical reason for this is easily seen after what has been said above: the subject element and

the verbal root form a complex by itself that has nothing to do with the preceding complexes, these latter, *i. e.*, the various infixed elements, therefore, necessarily preceding the subject element.

The plural element *eš*, on the other hand, follows the verbal root despite the fact that the pronominal element to which it belongs precedes the root. The latter, which originally was a verbal adjective, corresponds, in its function as modifier, to the descriptive adjective in noun-governed complexes, and as in these latter the adjective precedes the plural element according to the rules of sequence established in Chapter I, the verbal root must likewise precede the plural element; the expression "they—doing" is therefore *n-gar-eš* "he—doing—many." Cf. *mu-n-gar-eš* "they made." As regards the logical progress of thought this sequence means, of course, that the modification conveyed by the adding of the plural element does not refer to the pronoun, but to the whole complex consisting of pronominal element and verbal root, *i. e.*, to the verbal idea as referred to a third person. It may be noted that in this arrangement of the pre- and postpositive elements we may again observe a correspondence with the Semitic pre- and postpositive conjugation, for in the latter the prefixed element likewise serves to denote the person, while the number is expressed by the endings, although here, of course, we have to take into account that the latter at the same time have to denote the gender, which is not expressed in Sumerian, at least in that stage in which it is known to us.

The personal pronominal elements of the preterit are likewise found before the infixed dimensional elements, *e. g.*, *ši*, *da*, etc., which are identical with the postpositions *šu* "towards" and *da* "with," as well as in the dative infixes, as we shall see later. Cf.

'ši "towards me"
eši "towards thee"
nši "towards him (them)"
bši "towards it (them)"

'da "with me"
eda "with thee"
nda "with him (them)"
bda "with it (them)"

Although the position and form of the pronominal elements relating to the subject, as has been pointed out above, is a very essential characteristic of the preterit, yet the idea of the preterit is primarily conveyed by special formative elements, or at least, these elements are considered essential for the expression of certain shades of the preterit idea, namely, the element *i* (in older language *e*) for the perfect and *mu* for the tense of historical narration. We thus have:

i-dim (with subject element: *i*-*n*-dim) "he has made,"
mu-dim (with subject element: *mu*-*n*-dim) "he made."

By these formative elements the active preterit differs essentially from the active permansive *andim*, which, although following the same pre- and postpositive scheme of conjugation, does not employ any special element characteristic of the tense, and in comparison with *i*-*n*-dim and *mu*-*n*-dim therefore represents the simple theme *n*-dim, the *a* of *andim* serving the mere purpose of supporting the vowelless *n*.

The position of the elements *i* and *mu* is at the beginning of the complex of verbal prefixes; they precede, therefore, the elements relating to the subject, as well as those denoting a dimensional relation; cf. *mu*-*na*-*n*-*si*(*m*) "he gave to him," which has to be analyzed: element of the historical tense + dative object + subject element + verbal root.

As regards the preterit forms which contain a dimensional element referring to the first or second person, such as *mansi* "he gave to me," "he has given to me," and *muransi*, *maransi* "he gave to thee," "he has given to thee," however, the point last mentioned needs some more explanation. Supposing that the dative elements were originally

'*a* in the first person: "to me"
ra or *era* in the second: "to thee"¹
na in the third: "to him,"

¹ If we could assume that *ra* or (*e*)*ra* represents original *e*-*a* with inserted *r* in order to avoid the hiatus, we should have the regular scheme '*a*, *e*-(*r*)*a*, *n*-*a*, that is analyzed: pronominal element + dimensional (locative) element *a*, corresponding to '*ši*, *e*-*ši*, *n*-*ši*. The usual explanation that *ra* stands for *za* is very unlikely, since there is no other instance for the transition of

the form *mansi*, "he gave to me," might be explained as *mu* + 'a + n + si(m) > *muansi* > *mansi*,¹ which would be entirely analogous to *mu* + na + n + si(m), "he gave to him." Considered by itself, it would be well conceivable that the whole element *ma* represents the dative of the first person, the *m* being then the same element as found in *mae* "I" and *mu* "my;" but as in this case we should have to assume that the forms of the first and third persons followed different principles in the arrangement of the verbal elements, inasmuch as the dative *ma* would be prefixed (*ma-nsi*), while the dative *na* is infixed (*mu-na-usi*), the first explanation is by far more likely, especially since in the corresponding form of the second person, *maransi* and *muransi*, it would be out of question to take the whole element *mura* as an original dative form of the pronoun of the second person. Moreover, in the case of a connection of other dimensional elements with the element of the first person, as, e. g., *muši* "to me," *muda* "with me," it is beyond any doubt that we have to analyze *mu*-'ši and *mu*-'da, that is, verbal formative element + element of the first person + dimensional element, as is conclusively proved by a comparison with *mueši*, "to thee . . .," *mueda* "with you . . .," and *munši* "to him . . .," *munda* "with him."

Although the prefix *mu* is properly the sign of the historical tense only, yet it will be noticed that for some reason not yet known to us the combination of the prefix *mu* with pronominal elements of the first and second persons and a modifying dimensional element has passed over into the perfect tense, which is

z to r in Sumerian. Note also that in JRAS XVII, p. 65, Col. 30 e-ra "to you" stands exactly where, concluding from l. 19, the composition e+a must be expected; cf.

¹⁶ me-šù	a-na ni-a-šim	² e-šù	a-na ka-a-ši
¹⁷ me-da	an-ta muru-ta	²⁸ e-da	
¹⁸ me-ta		²⁹ e-ta	
¹⁹ me-a		³⁰ e-ra	
²⁰ me-da	ni-li-i	³¹ e-da	te-l[i-i]
²¹ me-da	it-ti-ni	³² e-da	it-t[i-ka]

¹ For the absorption of the u before a compare the entirely parallel case of the combination -mu+a, "in my . . .," which results in -ma. See my paper "Die Genetivkonstruktion im Sumerischen," *Babyloniaca* IV, p. 202, rule 4.

ordinarily characterized by the prefix *i* (or *e*), and even into the present-future theme, which, at least in the original scheme of verbal formation, uses no verbal prefix at all. Thus *mansi* does not only mean "he gave to me," corresponding to *munansi* "he gave to him," but also "he has given to me," in which meaning it corresponds to *i(n)nansi* "he has given to him;" as for the present-future theme see, *e. g.*, *mabdime* < *mu-'a-bdime* (instead of *a-'a-bdime*) beside *i-(n)na-bdime*, *muešindime* (instead of *a-eši-ndime*) beside *i(n)na-bdime*, etc. How characteristic for the first and second persons these combinations of the prefix *mu* with the modified personal elements have finally become, may perhaps best be seen from the fact that they are found even after the particles *nu*, *ḥe* and *nam*; cf. *ḥamabdime* "may he make for me," 142 Rev. Col. 2₂₁; *ḥumurab* KUM+?ene "may they for thee," 25 Col. 6₆₀, beside KA-*ḥarabša-šagine* "may they obey thee," LIH 60 Col. 2_{14,15}. In some instances we find the prefix *mu* after these particles even before an infix of the third person as, *e. g.*, in *numunabkallagia* "who shall not pay the rations to him," BE VI 2 No. 28₂₆; 48₃₁, *numunabbi* "he will (shall) not say to him, *ibid.* No. 14₁₈.

The prefix *mu* is to some extent subject to vowel harmony. Before the infix *ni* it is, at least during certain periods or in certain groups of inscriptions, regularly changed to *mi*, thus forming, together with the infix, the combination *mini-*. In the inscriptions of King Samsu-iluna and his successors, for instance, no example for the form *muniLAL* is found, while we have the following forms containing the prefixes *mini-*:

mi-ni-in-sà-eš-a, Si, LIH 98, 99.

mi-ni-in-dū-a, *ibid.*₆₅.

mi-ni-dū, *ibid.*₇₀.

mi-ni-íl, *ibid.*₇₁.

mi-ni-gi-en, *ibid.*₇₆.

mi-ni-[íl], HGT 101, Col. 3₉.

mi-ni-[tū], *ibid.*₁₅.

mi-ni-gi-na, date Si 6.

mi-ni-in-mul-la-a, date Si 7.

mi-ni-in-uš-sa, date Si 18.

mi-ni-in-dar(?) -ra, date Si 26 (HGT 100, Col. 4³²).

šu-mi-ni-in-PEŠ-PEŠ-a, *ibid.*₃₈.

mi-ni-in-gă-gă-a, *ibid.*₃₉.

mi-ni-in-dun-na date, Ab. c.

mi-ni-in-gă-ra, date Az. 13.

mi-ni-in-ba-al-la-a, date Az. 16.

The same result is gained from the inscription of Lugal-anna-mundu of Adab, BE VI 2 No. 130; HGT 75, where we find:

mi-ni-in-gi-na BE VI 2 No. 130₆; HGT 75₇.

mi-ni-in-nâ-a BE VI 2 No. 130₇; HGT 75₈.

mi-ni-in-gur-eš-âm, HGT 75 Rev.

mi-ni-in-îl-îl, HGT 75 Rev.

This list of verbal forms proves that the scribes of the time of Samsu-iluna and his successors, as well as those of Lugal-anna-mundu, strictly adhered to the rule that the prefix *mu* must become *mi* before the infix *ni*. On the other hand, however, we observe that in the corresponding emphatic forms the same scribes did not change the vowel of the prefix *mu*, this latter in its turn exercising its usual influence on the vowel of the prefix *he*, which it changes to *u*, so that the whole complex of prefixes appears in the form *humuni*-; cf.:

hu-mu-ni-maḥ "indeed I made splendid therein," Samsu-iluna, LIH 98₇₆.

hu-mu-ni-nigin, Hammurabi, LIH 58, Col. 1.

hu-mu-ni-nitaḥ, *ibid.*₁₉.

hu-mu-ni-in-îl, Warad-Sin, Cyl. Col. 2₃; Kudurmabuk (RA 9, p. 123), Col.; Samsu-iluna, LIH 98, l. 76.

This deviation from the general rule followed by the scribes of Samsu-iluna, etc., easily explains itself from the counteracting influence of the tendency of vowel differentiation; for since the vowel of the particle *he* is likewise liable to vowel harmony and usually takes the vowel of the following prefix or a sequence of three syllables with *i* (or *e*)-vowel, namely, *he-mi-ni*, would result, in case the vowel of *mu* is changed to *i*. Evidently the scribes of the Hammu-rabi time regarded the

combination *ḥumuni* as more euphonic than *ḥemini*. On the other hand, however, a no less important factor in the retention of the *n*-vowel before the infix *ni* was evidently the fact that the combination *ḥumu*, which had developed from *ḥemu* in consequence of the principle of vowel harmony, had become too characteristic for the emphatic historical tense to allow a change to *ḥemi*.

In the inscription of-Enlil, HGT 74, the following verbal forms containing the complex *mini* occur:

- mi-ni-mah-en* "I made thee great therein(?)" Col. 4₅.
mi-ni-in-tar-ra "(when) he had determined therein, Col. 5₁₀.
mi-ni-in-gā-ra "(after) he had established therein, Col. 5₂₄;

on the other hand, we find twice the form

- mu-ni-in-gā* "I established therein," Col. 5₁₃, 6₁₁,

and once

- mu-un-ni-in-PA+TŪG+DU-eš(-a)* "(which) they had given to her as a present," 6₇, 8.

The reason for the different treatment of the prefix *mu* in *miningara* and *muninga* was perhaps the different stressing, the former being probably stressed *miningár(r)a*, the latter *munínga*. As far as we can judge at present, *minimáhen* as well as *minintarra* are stressed exactly like *miningarra*, namely, *minimáhen* and *minintár-ra*, and therefore, likewise change the *mu* to *mi*. On the form *munninPA+KAB+DUeš* nothing definite can be said at present since the phonetic value of the signs representing the root, is not yet completely known.¹

In inscription No. 76 then we find *mu-ni-íb[.....]* in Col. 2₁ and *mu-ni-in-tū-tū* in Col. 2₆, but *mi-ni-in-gi-en* in Col. 3₁₄; these forms show the same conditions of stressing as *muninga* in inscription No. 74, but in the case of *miníngen* possibly the *i* or *e*-vowel of the root has counteracted the rule that this particular stressing arrests the tendency of vowel harmonization. This conclusion seems to be corroborated by

¹ According to No. 106 Col. 1₁₇ it ended with *ig*.

the verbal forms in the old-Babylonian text BE XIX 1 No. 2 and 3, where we find

¹⁵ mi-ni-in-AG (perhaps kî) (late variant mi-ni-in-gă)

¹⁸ mu-ni-in-gă(r) (late variant mi-ni[.])

²⁵ mi(?)-ni-in-[.] (late variant mi-[.])

²⁸ mi-ni-in-dîm

²⁹ mi-ni-in-îl.

For with the exception of muninga(r) the roots of these verbal forms contain (or may contain) an i-vowel, and correspondingly we find in all cases mini with the exception of muninga(r) where the original muni is preserved. It is of special interest to notice that in the late duplicates of the text the form muninga(r) has likewise been changed to mininga(r). In view of the fact that at the time of Samsu-iluna and his successors the scribes followed the rule that the combination muni becomes mini in all cases, this change of the vowel of the prefix need not be regarded as an erroneous assimilation to the other verbal forms of the text, but may have been changed with full intention, perhaps at the time of Samsu-iluna and his successors.

In the inscriptions of the kings of Larsam only the following instances of a simple combination of mu and ni are found up to the present:

sag-bi mu-ni-in-îl-eš "they lifted up its head," Rim-Sin, Caneph. A Col. 23.

sag-bi mu-ni-il "I lifted up its head," Warad-Sin, clay nail (unpublished),

Col. 217.

As these verbal forms are probably stressed muníñiles and muní'il, they would agree with the rule derived above from the forms munínga(r) and míningár(r)a in inscription No. 74 (probably time of the kings of Isin), although for the lack of other verbal forms showing different conditions of stressing this conclusion cannot yet be verified. But even the two examples suffice to show that the scribes of the kings of Larsam neither followed the rule, suggested above for inscriptions No. 76 and BE XIX 1 No. 2 and 3, that the i-vowel of the root

favors the change of mu to mi in cases where otherwise muni would be preserved, nor the rule, adopted by the scribes of Samsu-iluna and his successors, that muni becomes always mini.

Summing up our evidence, it may be said that during the period with which our investigations deal a uniform observance of the principle of vowel harmony with regard to the simple connection mu + ni is found only in the inscriptions of the kings of Babylon and the inscription of Lugal-anna-mundu of Adab, while in the inscriptions of the kings of Isin and Larsam there occur certain exceptions caused by euphonic reasons which the scarceness of our material allows us to define only approximately. It is very likely that these differences were peculiarities of certain scribal schools in the various parts of Babylonia.

For the perfect meaning of the theme in-LAL and the aorist¹ meaning of mu-LAL, see my paper "Das Verbum im Sumerischen."² Here it may simply be recalled that the difference of meaning, as defined above, follows from the fact that in the legal documents in all the cases where the completion of a legal action and its legal force for the present and future must be certified we find only the theme i-LAL, never mu-LAL, while in purely historical narration the theme mu-LAL is used; it is true, in certain old texts the theme i-LAL, *i. e.*, the perfect, is likewise used in the force of an historical tense, but this, of course, simply means that in this early period the fine distinction between perfect and historical tense had not yet been fully developed or, to be more accurate, not yet completely been carried through.³ As regards the use of the perfect, *i. e.*, the tense which expresses the completion of an action and its close relation to the present, in legal documents, note, *e. g.*, that an English purchase document would never run: "A bought this or that object," but always: "A has bought this or that object."

¹ In the sense of the indicative of the Greek aorist, *i. e.*, as the tense of historical narration.

² ZA XXI, 1908, pp. 216-236.

³ Cf. also in Latin the use of the perfect as historical tense.

As to the origin and original meaning of the elements *e* and *mu* nothing definite can be said at present except that very likely the element *i*, in older language *e*, is identical with the personal and demonstrative pronoun *e* "this." Whether *mu*, on the other hand, can somehow or other be connected with the pronoun of the first person, remains entirely uncertain at the present.

THE ACTIVE PERMANSIVE

The active permansive theme *an-LAL* follows the pre- and postpositive scheme of conjugation which we found in the perfect and aorist, using, in order to denote the persons, the elements *'*, *e*, *n* and *n—eš*. The essential difference between the permansive and the preterit themes consists in this, that the former has no special element characteristic of the tense, whereas the preterit themes, as we saw, denote the tense by means of the elements *e* and *mu*. In the scheme of conjugation the three themes therefore compare as follows:

Permansive	Perfect	Aorist
<i>'-LAL</i>	<i>i-'-LAL</i>	<i>mu-'-LAL</i>
<i>e-LAL</i>	<i>i-e-LAL</i>	<i>mu-e-LAL</i>
<i>n-LAL</i>	<i>i-n-LAL</i>	<i>mu-n-LAL</i>
<i>n-LAL-eš</i>	<i>i-n-LAL-eš</i>	<i>mu-n-LAL-eš</i>

The form of the 2. sg., which begins with the vowel *e*, has remained as it originally was in the scheme of conjugation just set forth. Those forms, which begin with a consonant, namely, *'-LAL*, *n-LAL* and *n-LAL-eš*, have now the vowel *a* prefixed to the consonants *'* and *n*; this vowel evidently serves merely to support those otherwise vowelless consonants, a phenomenon which we have already observed in the entirely analogous development of the forms *ab-LAL-e* and *an-LAL-e* in the *b*- and *n*-conjugation of the active present-future theme from *b-LAL-e* and *n-LAL-e*. This secondary *a* sometimes appears as *i*, as may be seen from the fact that in the contracts the phrase *kù-babbar*, etc., *más-an-tuku* "silver, etc., it has (*i. e.*, bears)

interest," "silver which bears interest," interchanges with kù-babbar, etc., máš-in-tuku.

The most important and conclusive passages for our theme are No. 152 Col. 10₄₋₉, where we find a-túm = ub-ba-al a-na-ku, e-túm = tu-ub-ba-al, an-túm = ub-ba-al, and No. 142 Col. 4_{22, 23}, where we have a-tuku = a-na-ku i-šu and an-tuku = i-šu.

THE INTRANSITIVE AND PASSIVE THEMES (N)i-LAL, AL-LAL AND BA-LAL

The themes (n)i-LAL, al-LAL and ba-LAL form a well-defined group in the Sumerian system of verbal forms on account of the logical similarity of the meanings expressed by them, and it is evidently for this reason that they follow a common mode of inflection, different from that of the active preterit and permansive as well as from that of the active present-future. The formative elements of this inflection, as far as they refer to the subject, are, like those of the active present-future theme, entirely of postpositive character, and in fact, as regards the first and second persons, even identical with those of the latter theme; in the third persons, however, the two themes differ in that the intransitive-passive theme uses as ending for the 3. sg. — instead of e, and for the 3. pl. eš instead of ene, the whole scheme of endings being therefore:

1. sg. -en	1. pl. -enden
2. sg. -en	2. pl. -enzen
3. sg. —	3. pl. -eš

While thus in this inflection the second and third persons are denoted by special elements characteristic of these persons, no such element is employed in the third persons, the ending eš in the 3. pl. representing merely the idea "many." It may be mentioned, by the way, that this system of verbal endings corresponds much closer to that of the Akkadian permansive and the perfect in the other Semitic languages than does the other Sumerian postpositive system, namely that of the active present-future, inasmuch as in the Semitic system the 3. sg.

is likewise without a special ending (in the feminine only the feminine element at), and the 3. pl. only adds the plural ending (û, â), whereas the first and second persons are denoted by elements characteristic of the person (k and t).

The psychological reason for this phenomenon is, in Sumerian as well as in the Semitic languages, that in most cases the verb of the third person will occur as a modification of an object especially named, that is, grammatically, a substantive, so that, from a logical point of view, it would be more or less a pleonasm, were the third person, or in other words, the subject, to be marked a second time. Moreover, the grammatical subject of the third person will frequently vary, while the first or second person will always have as grammatical subject the elements expressive of the idea "I" and "thou," so that the connection between verbal idea and the pronominal elements of the first and second persons will naturally become much closer than that between verbal idea and the pronoun of the third person, a fact which can easily develop the axiom that a verbal form without an element marking it as first or second person refers to a third person.

The meanings of the themes (n)i-LAL, al-LAL and ba-LAL can easily be established from the Akkadian renderings of these forms. The form al-LAL, *e. g.*, is mostly translated by a permansive; cf. al-dû = tâb "(the heart) is content;" al-gă-gă(r) = nu-bu-ûḫ, "it is kindled," etc.¹ This means, of course, that the Sumerian theme al-LAL must have essentially the same meaning as the Akkadian permansive, *i. e.*, it denotes that an action has been completed, its result, however, still continuing at a certain moment which may be either in the past or in the present. Moreover, the form al-LAL is comparatively often formed of the reduplicated root, in which case the Akkadian translation has a permansive form of the piel conjugation, which expresses the idea that a certain condition has been forced on some object and that this object now continues to be in this condition, a meaning in which the passive idea and

¹ See list of verbal forms.

the idea of the permansive are blended with each other; this peculiar passive-permansive idea must again be characteristic of the theme al-LAL(-LAL) in Sumerian.

The point last mentioned constitutes a very essential difference between the themes al-LAL and (n)i-LAL; for the prefix (n)ì is found only in intransitive expressions which at the same time presuppose an action on the part of the subject, or at least show a certain logical relation to the idea of independent action; cf. (n)ì-zu "he knows;" (n)ì-gal "he is," "he exists;" (n)ì-ti "he is (lives, dwells) (in some place);" (n)ì-me-a "who is (something);" (n)ì-zi "he marched," "proceeded," etc. In contradistinction to al-LAL, the theme (n)i-LAL may therefore be defined as representing the active nuance of the intransitive idea.

The theme ba-LAL is very often translated by an Akkadian t-form; cf. ba-úš=im-tu-ut, 5 R 25_{26a}; ba-ra-è=it-ta-ši, 2 R 11_{11a}; ba-ra-bal=it-ta-bal-kit, 5 R 40_{65a}. On the other hand, the themes (n)i-LAL and al-LAL are usually translated by the unaugmented stems, and only occasionally by the t-stem. From this it follows that ba-LAL is the middle of the simple intransitive forms (n)i-LAL and al-LAL. The conclusive proof for this may be found in No. 150_{9, 11}, for although in this passage the text is broken just at the decisive point, yet there is not the slightest doubt that ll. 9 and 11 must be restored [ba-zi]-gi-en=e-te-it-bi (mistake for e-it-te-bi) and [ba-zi-g]i-en=te-it-te-bi, which forms have to be contrasted with those in ll. 3 and 5: (n)ì-zi-gi-en=e-it-bi and (n)ì-zi-gi-en=te-it-bi. Note also AO 5403_{7, 8} ba-an-na-te=i-ṭe-ḫi-šum and ba-an-na-te-en=e-ṭe-ḫi-šum, to be compared with ll. 2 and 3: in-na-te-e-en=te-it-ḫi-šum and in-na-te-en=e-it-ḫi-šum.¹

The theme ba-LAL, furthermore, serves to express the pure passive idea, as may easily be seen from its use in the abbreviated date formulas. Of the two formulas ¹mu ^dŠU-^dsin lugal urí^{ki}-ma-ge ²má-(g)ūru-maḫ ^{3cl}en-lil ^dnin-lil-ra ⁴mu-ne-dím

¹ I-ṭe-ḫi-šum and e-ṭe-ḫi-šum are not, as Thureau-Dangin in RA 1914, p. 43 assumes, to be taken as present-future forms of I ("il s'approche(ra) de lui," "je m'approche(rai) de lui"), but as preterits of I₂=iṭṭeḫišum and eṭṭeḫišum.

and mu má-(g)ūru-maḥ ba-dím, both of which denote the eighth year of the reign of ŠU-Sin, the former has the active verbal form mu-ne-dím, because the subject is ^dŠU-^dsin lugal urí^{ki}-ma-ge: the king made the barge; the second formula, on the other hand, uses the passive verbal form ba-dím, because here the grammatical subject is no longer the king, but má-(g)ūru-maḥ: the barge was made. Cf., below, ba-ḥul-ḥul = ig-[ga-li-il] "he has been cursed, ruined," No. 136 Col. 4₁₀, 11.

The medial-intransitive and purely passive meanings of the theme ba-LAL stand, of course, in the closest connection with each other, the latter having evidently developed from the middle meaning. The same development may be observed, *e. g.*, in the Aramaic t-forms (when compared with the Babylonian t-forms), and furthermore we may recall the fact that in Greek the present-theme is the same for middle and passive.

A very instructive example for the differences of meaning between the active-intransitive theme (n)i-LAL and the passive-intransitive themes ba-LAL and al-LAL is the passage ^{66,67}nam-sun-ba ní-te-a-ne-ne-a ⁶⁸(n)ì-šub-šub-bu-uš = ⁶³in la-bi-ru-ti-šu-nu ⁶⁴in ra-ma-ni-šu-nu ⁶⁵up-ta-az-zi-zu "in their old age they had collapsed by their own accord," Samsu-iluna, LIH 97-99; for here only the theme (n)i-LAL can be used, because the author of the inscription expressly states that they collapsed, as it were, by their own will, while ba-šub-šub-bu-uš and al-šub-šub-bu-uš would express the idea, "they had been destroyed (by somebody)." Cf. the phrase: a-rá-3-kam tum-ma-al^{ki} ba-šub "a third time the Tummal was destroyed," No. 68.

The difference between the themes al-LAL and ba-LAL, on the other hand, is very clearly brought out in No. 136 Col. 4₁₀, 11; for there al-ḥul-ḥul is equated with gu-u[l-lul] "he is cursed," "he is ruined," while ba-ḥul-ḥul is translated ig-[ga-li-il] "he was cursed, ruined," "he has been cursed, ruined." These different translations prove that ba-LAL is the pure passive, corresponding to the n-conjugation of the Akkadian verb, while al-LAL, as has been pointed out above, lays especial stress on the permansive idea. It has likewise been mentioned that the passive meaning of the theme al-LAL by preference

is found in the reduplicated form, *i. e.*, in the form al-LAL-LAL, while in the simple form it usually has intransitive meaning. This fact indicates that the passive meaning of al-LAL represents a secondary development from the intransitive-permansive meaning, just as does the passive meaning of the corresponding permansive forms of the second conjugation in Akkadian. The theme ba-LAL, on the other hand, occurs in passive meaning mostly in the simple form; cf. the frequent ba-ḫul "it was devastated," ba-dīm "it was made," bagul (bagulluš) "it was (they were) destroyed," etc., in dates (*e. g.*, AMAR-Sin 3, Samsu-iluna 15, 17).

In the negative and precative forms the prefixes (n)i and al of the themes (n)i-LAL and al-LAL are displaced by the elements characteristic of the negative and precative forms; cf. al-gă-gă(r), nu-gă-gă(r), ḥe-gă-gă(r) and na-an-gă-gă(r), No. 142 Col. 39-12; al-zi-in-zi-im and nu-zi-in-zi-im, *ibid.* 13, 14; (n)i-zi-gi-en, nu-zi-gi-en and ga-zi, No. 150 Col. 13-6. From this fact it is evident that, as far as the system underlying the verbal formation is concerned, the idea of the intransitive is not at all conveyed by the elements (n)i and al themselves, these latter indeed serving merely to fill out the place where in other instances the formative element would be expected according to the system. (N)i-LAL and al-LAL thus stand in reality for —LAL, that is to say the verbal root without any formative element. It may be recalled that the elements (n)i and al are used in the same way in the simple active present-future theme, where (n)i-LAL-e and al-LAL-e stand for —LAL-e. An entirely analogous phenomenon then is that in the imperative LAL-a the element a is used to convey the idea of the imperative, although the a, as has been shown above, is of secondary origin, serving merely either to support vowelless consonants or, as in this case, to mark the place where the formative element would be expected, as, *e. g.*, in the case of the imperative, after the verbal root.

The prefix ba of the theme ba-LAL, on the other hand, is not dropped in the negative and precative forms; cf. û-imin-ám še la-ba-HAR, "for seven days grain was not ground," Gudea, Statue B Col. 730; ḥa-ba-gub "may it stand," *ibid.* 755; è-ba-ra =

ši-i!, "go out," 2 R 26, 1 Col. 38. This difference in the treatment of the prefixes (n)i, al and ba explains itself exactly as in the active middle from the fact that ba is not merely a substitutional formative element as (n)i and al, but has a meaning of its own, expressing the independent idea of a dative-reflexive relation.

It may be noted that sometimes, where a statement occurs in negative and positive form, the theme nu-LAL in the negative part corresponds to ba-LAL in the positive part. *E. g.*, in the creation text CT 13, 35 f, which first emphasizes the non-existence of certain things and then relates their creation, we find nu-dím=ul ba-ni, ul íp-še-it, ll. 2-4, 6-9, and ba-dū=e-bu-uš and ba-dím=ba-ni, l. 12. However, it need hardly be pointed out that we have here, of course, the theme al-LAL in one case, and the theme ba-lal in the other; for in the negative part the author wants to say that the things he speaks of did not exist at a certain time, and that, moreover, this non-existence lasted for some time, while in the positive part he emphasizes the fact that at a certain moment they were made. The idea "it was not made at that particular time," in the sense of "nobody made it at that time," is of course la-ba-dim.

As far as the system of verbal formation is concerned, the scheme of the principal intransitive themes is therefore:

	(n)i-LAL and al-LAL	ba-LAL
Indicative.	a. positive —LAL	ba-LAL
	b. negative nu-LAL	la-ba-LAL
Precative.	a. positive ĥe-LAL	ĥa-ba-LAL
	b. negative na(n)-LAL	na(m)-ba-LAL
Imperative (and infinitive).	LAL—	LAL-na ¹

Very little can be said of the b- and n-conjugations of the intransitive themes, because at present our material is still too

¹ The infinitive of the passive form we evidently have in the following passages: é-a-ni du-ba mu-na-du "that his house be built he commanded him," Gudea, Cyl. A 119; éš é-ninnu-na du-ba za-ra ma-ra-an-du "that the house of his Eninnu be built he has commanded thee," *ibid.* 518; compare é a ni du da ma an-dū "to build his house he has commanded me," *ibid.* 420, where the passive infinitive du-ba is replaced by the (active?) infinitive du-da.

scanty. Evidently we have a b-form in the phrase *kišib X ib-ra* "the seal of X has been impressed." In the system of verbal formation *ibra* would represent the form b-LAL with secondary vowel *i* (instead of the usual *a*) in order to support the vowelless *b*; the negative would be *nubra*, the precative *hebra*, etc.

The pronunciation of the prefix *NI* was probably *ì*, since in the passage *ab-sin^{si}-dím ìⁱ-dúr-dúr-ri-eš-ám mul-an zag-til-bi = ki-ma ši-ir-'i su-un-nu-qu kak-kab šame-e gi-mir-šun* on an unpublished text in the Louvre¹ it has the gloss *i*. This pronunciation would very well fit in with our conclusion that the *NI* is a secondary element simply serving to denote the place where a formative element would be expected in other cases, for the *i* would then be only a variant of the *a* which, as we saw, serves the same purpose, and moreover, itself can appear as *i*.

Nevertheless there is the possibility of a pronunciation *ni*, inasmuch as the element *i*, perhaps in order to make itself more weighty, may very well have assumed a secondary *n*, thus conforming at the same time to the formation of the prefixes *bi*, *mu*, *ba*, etc., which consist of consonant and vowel. The secondary *n* may especially have been frequent after words ending with a vowel, in order to avoid the hiatus between this vowel and the prefix *i*. This assumption is suggested to me by the fact that in No. 152 Col. 9₁₅₋₃₀ beside the forms *me-a (n)ì-ti-en* "where am I" and *me-a (n)ì-ti-eš* "where are they," which are clearly intransitive permansive forms, we find the parallel forms *me-a-an-ti-en* and *me-a-an-ti-eš*, etc., which doubtless are abbreviated from the former by eliding the vowel of the prefix *ni*. Concerning secondary *n* as a means to overcome the hiatus compare the pronouns *e-n-e* "he," *e-n-e-n-e* "they" and the plural ending *-e-n-e*.

The present-future *(n)itemaden*, etc., which belongs to the preterit-permansive *(n)ite*, seems to be formed of a special present-future stem *temad*; cf. also *šubabtema = i(t)eqqi* and *šubabtemane = il(t)equu* by the side of *šubanti = ilqi, ilteqi*.

¹ AO 6458 Rev.4; see Thureau-Dangin in RA X p. 101.

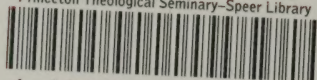
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